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REMINISCENCES OF JOHN H. CHARLES.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

BY FRANK HARMON GARVER.
Professor of History, Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa.

The first plat of Sioux City was made in 1854. The late Mr. John H. Charles came to the new town on December 1, 1856, remaining here till the day of his death, which occurred on December 1, 1904, the forty-eighth anniversary of his coming. He was not a pioneer only; his residence in Sioux City had spanned at the time of his death practically the whole history of the town. He was here when the population numbered but a few hundred; he saw it increase to 40,000. He was here when the community possessed but little wealth; he saw prosperity come and abide. He was here when manners were rough and the country was wild; he saw culture and refinement come.

Mr. Charles' life was primarily a business career. He was successively a real estate dealer, surveyor, clerk, merchant and government transportation contractor. Though not a politician, and never an office-seeker, he was yet called upon to serve the community in the various capacities of justice of the peace, alderman and mayor. Other honors could have been his for the asking, but he had a distaste for public office, and rejected all suggestions of personal preferment. He chose to give his spare time and surplus energies to interests of a semi-private character. In this field several different subjects and enterprises claimed his attention and received his support. For years he was a loyal member of the Sioux City Scientific Association. He served the association as its president from 1892 to 1903. In the latter year he was foremost in the organization of the Academy of Science and Letters which was formed to succeed the Scientific Association. During its first year Mr. Charles was president of the Academy. At the time

[1] This article appeared in the Proceedings of the Sioux City Academy of Science and Letters, Vol. 2, 1906, and is now reprinted with slight changes.

of his death he was President Emeritus. Chiefly for his own personal pleasure he brought together from many places a numerous and valuable collection of geological specimens and Indian relics.

Mr. Charles was much interested in the Sioux City Public Library. To it he gave many books and much of his time serving as a trustee from the establishment of the library to his death. Personally he was a great reader. His private library was one of the largest and best appointed in the city. It also contained many rare volumes of great age and value, another example of his collecting spirit.

As a pioneer, who for fifty years had witnessed the remarkable changes brought by advancing civilization, Mr. Charles was anxious that the story of the early history of Sioux City and of Iowa should be preserved. A close friend of Mr. Charles Aldrich, Curator of the State Historical Department, he possessed a deep sympathy for the work of that institution and backed up his interest in a substantial manner. He was also for several years before his death a member of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

The chief service of Mr. Charles to the cause of local history was in connection with the erection of the Floyd monument. He was one of the organizers, in 1895, of the Floyd Memorial Association, an organization formed for the purpose of commemorating, in some suitable way, the name of Sergeant Charles Floyd, a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition, who died on the upward journey, in 1804, and was interred upon a bluff within the present limits of Sioux City. From 1896 on until his death Mr. Charles was president of this association, which in 1900-1 crowned its years of labor with brilliant success by erecting over the grave of Floyd a stately shaft one hundred feet in height. This successful consummation of the association's work, though many devoted men and women contributed to it, was more the work of Mr. John H. Charles than of any other individual. This fact is recognized by the Floyd Memorial Association itself, since at a recent meeting it voted to place upon the Floyd monument a bronze tablet in appreciation of the services of Mr. Charles in the erection of the same.

It was Mr. Charles' desire to aid in the preservation of the early history of Sioux City that caused him to dictate to the editor, during the late summer of 1904, the following reminiscences. In doing this no especial system was followed. Mr. Charles talked as the inspiration came, choosing his own subjects to some of which he would return on later days and make additions. The first task of the editor was to write out the dictations and read them to Mr. Charles for his correction. Such occasions were often seized by him for still further additions. One result of this method was to produce a fragmentary effect. The narrative was not always consecutive.

The chief task of the editor has been to rewrite and rearrange the Reminiscences, to verify statements and to correct what errors had crept in. Mr. Charles' exact words and phrases have been retained wherever possible. No facts have been altered. The meaning has always been preserved. One has a right to his own views, hence no changes of mere opinion have been made.

Mr. Charles was asked to spell all personal names as he dictated. His spelling has been preserved in the text. Sometimes it was that of the frontier which, though common then, would not always pass now. Where a different spelling has been suggested by the editor it has been placed in brackets in the text. Sometimes initials and given names have been missing. Whenever it has been possible to supply these they also have been placed in brackets. Other minor corrections have been indicated in the same way.

Foot-notes have been added by the editor for two reasons: partly for the purpose of making corrections more important or more extensive than those mentioned above; partly with the view of adding more light to the subject in hand.

What follows is not an autobiography of Mr. Charles. He makes no attempt here to tell the complete story of his life. Mr. Charles has limited his remarks mostly to life in Sioux City prior to 1865. His remarks are largely local and personal. The latter part, in which he recalls and describes a dozen prominent characters of early days, was added at the suggestion of the editor.

I.

PERSONAL AND LOCAL AFFAIRS.

My ancestors, on my father's side, were Swiss. My great-great-grandfather's name was Henry, or rather Heinrich, Karli. He was a native of the canton of Zurich, Switzerland. In 1734 he emigrated to America and settled in Manor Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He was the father of three sons, namely: Joseph, John and Jacob. Joseph had two sons named John and Joseph. John, the eldest of these, was my grandfather. He also had two sons named respectively Joseph and John. Joseph was my father. He spelled his last name Charles, the family name having been Anglicized since their immigration to America.

I was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, on January the 19th, 1826. My mother's maiden name was Elizabeth Kauffman. Her people, who were also Swiss, had come to America and settled in Pennsylvania in 1717. I was the oldest child in a family of six children, four boys and two girls. In May, 1826, when I was four months old, my father moved from Pennsylvania to Mifflin Township, Richmond County, Ohio. A little later a shifting of county boundary lines threw my father's farm into Ashland County. This farm is still in the family. One of my sisters, Mrs. Ben J. Urban, now lives upon it [1904]. It is located about nine miles east of the city of Mansfield, Ohio.

I lived on this farm until I was twenty-four years of age. The first fifteen years were uneventful. At fifteen I began to learn the trade of a carpenter and joiner, at which I worked most of the time during the summer months until I was twenty-four. For four or five winters I taught school. For this employment I received during the first year eleven dollars a month and "boarded around." When I quit teaching I was receiving twenty dollars a month, the highest wages paid to teachers in Ashland County at that time.

In the spring of 1850 the news of the discovery of gold in California reached our place. I, as well as many others, caught the "gold fever." Being a strong young man, and in my prime, I soon made up my mind to go. My folks were not

much in favor of my plan. They, however, made no objection to my departure, though they saw me go with great anxiety. It was on the 13th day of March, 1850, that I left the old home for the far west. I went by rail from Mansfield, in an adjoining county, to Sandusky City, where I stopped over night. Next day I went by rail to Cincinnati, where I took passage on the Yorktown, a large steamer commanded by Captain Haldeman, for St. Louis. The trip down the Ohio and up the Mississippi rivers took us ten days. While in St. Louis I stopped at the Missouri Hotel, which a gentleman who was waiting for passengers on the levee said was the "cheapest dollar a day house in the town."

I left St. Louis on the steamer El Paso and went up the Missouri river as far as Liberty Landing,[1] from which place emigrants started at that time for California. At Independence, Missouri, we "fitted out" for California, which was the "far west" then surely. We bought four yoke of oxen for each wagon, loading each with about two thousand pounds of provisions, outfit, etc. This was not a large load for such a team, but we thought it safest to have enough oxen. There were about eighty persons in our crowd. Altogether we had twenty-one wagons, which with their four-yoke teams made a very formidable appearance. We had not gone far, however, before grass became scarce. Then, too, we could not always agree as to the best route to be taken. For these reasons our large party soon split up into smaller ones, each taking whichever route it pleased.

By the middle of May we reached Grand Island, Nebraska, where we found our first good grass. This was an important item, since our cattle were already getting weak and thin. From Grand Island, where we struck the valley, we moved up the Platte river to old Fort Carney [Kearney], thence west by Ash Hollow and the North Platte to Fort Laramie, situated at the point where the Laramie fork enters the North Platte. Arrived at the Rocky Mountains, we did not follow the usual route, but took rather the South Pass over the mountains, which were passed about June 1. Once over the Great Divide

[1] In western Missouri, just south of the town of Liberty and a little east of Kansas City.

we went down the Humboldt[1] river to the Carson river and then up the Carson river to its head. The journey across the Sierra Nevada range, which was reached early in August, brought the greatest suffering of the whole trip, for the snow was heavy and it was biting cold. The crust on the snow was strong enough to bear up our heavy wagons, for which we were thankful, since it lessened the hardship somewhat. Descending the western slope of the Sierra Nevada range we reached the gold fields at a place called Hangtown [now Placerville], California, about September 1.

The three greatest trials of our four months' journey had been in crossing the Sierra Nevada mountains, some difficulty in always finding grass for the cattle, and scarcity of water, which was felt at times. It was in Nevada that we suffered most for water. On one occasion we ran out and while I stayed to guard camp my colleagues made a detour of many miles on either side in search of water. While I was awaiting the return of my friends a man came across the sands bearing a small keg of water upon his shoulder. When he came to camp I asked for a drink and was informed that I could have a cup of water for one dollar. I was so thirsty that I paid for the drink. Before leaving the man asked if we had an abundance of food. I answered "Yes." He started away, but soon came back and asked for something to eat. I charged him a dollar for a square meal and so got even with him.

I soon tired of prospecting for gold, and went to work for a mining company. The miners almost coerced newcomers into working for them, they wanted men so badly. Wages were high, so by May of the next year I had saved one thousand dollars. We had sold our surplus provisions upon arrival for a good price. Not liking life in the mining region, I now decided to return to Ohio, making the homeward journey by way of the Isthmus of Panama.

I now remained at home for eighteen months. Upon my arrival there I was sure I should never go west again. But soon several young men in my county began to plan a trip to California and I joined them. We went again to Indepen-

[1] In Nevada. No effort has been made to identify the exact route taken on this journey because the story of this trip may be considered as merely introductory to the main narrative to follow.

dence, Missouri, for our start across the plains. Here three of us who had made the trip to California before bought up a hundred cows. We got them for less than twenty dollars per head. We had an idea that we could drive them to California and make some money on them. We followed about the same route which I had taken two years before. We reached the mining country in the spring of 1853 and had no trouble in selling our cows at eighty dollars per head. Our party tried prospecting near Sacramento City. After a time I gave that up and superintended the construction of a plank road leading out of Sacramento City. During the spring and summer of 1855 I farmed. In December of the same year I started east again, this time by way of Nicaragua, reaching Ohio in February, 1856. I remained at home until fall.

During the summer of 1856, while in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on a visit, I learned that the United States government had made some rich land grants to three railroads[1] that were going to build across the State of Iowa. Several things turned my attention westward again. First, I had been west twice and got something of the western spirit. I had an uncle who was loaning money on Wisconsin lands and he talked about the west to me. Then the nomination of Buchanan for president that summer seemed to promise trouble with the south, and finally I thought the land in Iowa would make a good investment. So I made up my mind to go west and settle down for good. After a careful study of the maps I chose Sioux City as my destination and started. From Mansfield I came by rail via Chicago to Iowa City.[2] Thence I went by stage to Des Moines, where I stopped off a few days. A second stage brought me to Fort Dodge. The hardest part of the journey lay between that point and Sioux City. No regular stage ran between these two places, only a lumber wagon which carried mail. In this I took passage. It took us six days to make the trip. The first night we spent at Twin Lakes, the next at Sac City, and the third at Ida Grove, where I stopped with a friend, Judge [J. H.] Moorehead. The last three nights we spent at Mapleton, Smithland and Sergeant's Bluff respec-

[1] These three railroads grew into the present Rock Island, Chicago and Northwestern, and Illinois Central systems.

[2] This was as far west as the railroad came in Iowa in 1856.

tively. At the latter place I passed the night with Mr. [W. P.] Holman. We finally reached Sioux City on Monday morning, December 1, 1856, during a fierce snow-storm. That night I stopped at the Hagy House, or Western[1] Hotel, of which John Hagy was proprietor. The hotel was located on the levee at the corner of Second and Water streets. It consisted of two log cabins near together, the space between enclosed only with rough hewn boards. The house was ordinarily referred to as "The Terrific."[1]

A dozen men were in the hotel lobby. All were in shirt sleeves, but each man wore from two to four flannel shirts. One old man named Cowan, known familiarly as "Colonel," sat by the stove with an umbrella raised over him. The storm was very severe and blew so much snow into the upper part of the room that it settled down all over the floor. Above the stove the heat changed the falling flakes into rain, hence the umbrella. The men were a hard-looking set, harder than I had seen in the California mines or even on the Isthmus. They were dirty and ragged, but talked chiefly of their real estate sales and of the money they had made. But they looked harder than they were, for some of them were well-educated and have since made their mark.

Near bedtime I looked around for a sleeping room. Seeing none, and wishing to make inquiry, I approached the only man in the hotel whom I saw wearing a white shirt. He answered that none of the men had rooms, that there were no rooms, and that I would be lucky to get even a bed. He said that he himself slept between the two houses, and not having any bedfellow I could sleep with him. He probably noticed that I also wore a white shirt, and since we two were the only guests that did, this may be the reason why he took me in preference to anyone else. We soon retired to sleep, under a buffalo-robe. That is all that kept us from freezing. In the morning we were covered with snow several inches deep. Frost had formed around our eyes and mouths and our faces were covered with snow and ice.[2]

[1] The Hagy House of 1856 was called the Northwestern House later. The nickname "Terrific" had been applied to the house before Mr. Hagy became proprietor.

[2] Mr. Charles' bedfellow that night was Charles K. Smith, afterwards postmaster of Sioux City.

When we arose in the morning we found the kitchen snowed up. The cook-stove was completely covered. The dining-room was half full of snow and it was still storming; indeed, it continued storming all that day and the next. It was nothing less than a genuine northwestern blizzard of wind and snow. On the whole, coming as I did almost direct from California, where running water never freezes, I thought I had been given rather a cold reception in Sioux City.

Since the kitchen was snowed under, our hotel could not serve breakfast. About 8:30 a. m. I started out to get a bite to eat. The storm had not abated and I found the streets almost impassable. But I was successful in that I finally succeeded in getting what was called a "hot breakfast" at the Sioux City House, located on Pearl street between Fifth and Sixth.[1]

While going in search of this meal I met at the postoffice[2] Mr. Samuel T. Davis, whom I looked upon as a friend as soon as I learned that he was from Pennsylvania, the State in which I was born. The severeness of the storm caused some of those who went through it to give up their half-formed intentions of locating here, but after talking with Mr. Davis about Pennsylvania, California and some other states we made up our minds to stay in Sioux City. In closing the conversation I said to him, "I'll be in Sioux City on the morning of January 1, 1900, and as the sun rises over the hills to the east I'll say, 'Hail, old Fellow! I'm still here.'" It came to pass. On the morning of January 1, 1900, Mr. Davis took breakfast with me at my house. Forty-four years had passed since we first met that stormy day in the little post-office. You can guess what we talked about.

After looking around to see what could be done I made up my mind that I must pay expenses during the winter. So I went across the river, took up a claim in Nebraska and went to cutting cord-wood and saw-logs. In this way I made enough extra money to buy a compass in the spring so I could take

[1] Rather on the corner of Fifth and Pearl. Building is still standing.

[2] Located on the corner of Second and Pearl streets.

up surveying, an occupation much to my liking. I soon had a chance to use my compass. During the last days of February, 1857, a man from Ohio, named Bennett, came to Sioux City. He represented an Ohio company which desired to locate a townsite somewhere along the Missouri river above here. None of this country had been surveyed and townsites had to be located as best they could in order to be held against the settlers. The pre-emption law allowed this to be done providing certain conditions were met. Mr. Bennett engaged me to locate his townsite for him. Accordingly on March 1, 1857, I took my compass and started, together with Father Martin of Dakota City, from Covington[1] where my claim was for the upper river. We had a span of horses and a sled to haul the provisions. The claim-men, ax-men, etc., walked, I with the rest. Towards evening of the first day we got as far as St. Johns,[2] Nebraska, where John Tracey[3] lived. The snow was two feet deep and we could make but slow progress. On the second day the expedition reached Ponca, where we stayed over night. The next day we started for Concord,[4] which is at the head of Lime Creek. When we got there we found some Sioux City people—S. B. Mulhollen (Mulholland) and [Wesley S.] Trescott among them. The fourth night we camped on the open prairie and almost froze to death, as it was the night of a terrible blizzard. It was only by building a big fire that we managed to live through it.

Next night we stopped at St. James,[5] Nebraska, on the Missouri river, where we found trappers who had gone there to trade with the Indians. I made my bed on a pile of beaver

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[1] Located on the Nebraska side of the Missouri opposite Sioux City. Both town and claim have since been washed away.

[2] Town has disappeared and site has been washed away. The present town of Jackson (Dakota County, Nebraska) is said to represent the former town of St. Johns.

[3] A Catholic priest and founder of St. Johns, having led a colony of Irish Catholics there in 1856. The fiftieth anniversary of this event was celebrated at Jackson during the summer of 1906.

[4] There is a town named Concord in Dixon County, Nebraska, but it is too far south to be the town here indicated because the party was following the Missouri river closely.

[5] In Cedar County.

skins and was sleeping away, like a pig under a gate, when, sometime during the night, I was awakened by loud talking and swearing on the part of the trappers. They had remained up late to play cards and got into some dispute about the fairness of the game. They were so abusive that I thought some one would be killed, especially since their revolvers were much in evidence, yet no harm came of it. These four men were Bill Copeland, John [Henry] Campbell, Bill Craven[s] and [John] Mitchell, commonly called "Old Mitch."

Next morning we went up the river to a point opposite the present site of Yankton, S. Dak., where we found a party of New York men holding a townsite. On the way we had passed a high rocky point, which had looked so good to me and commanded such a fine view that I now recommended that we return to it. This recommendation suited Mr. Bennett, so we went back and staked out a townsite consisting of over 2,000 acres, or more than three sections. This took us nearly a week, after which we were ready to return to Sioux City. In the meantime the snow had melted and the return trip was not so difficult. After reaching home I platted the town, naming it Opechee, a name afterward changed to St. Helena. It was in Cedar County, Nebraska, opposite[1] the present village of Gayville [which is in Yankton County, S. Dak.]. Bennett went east and had the plat lithographed and sold lots right and left, getting himself into trouble,[2] since the land had not yet been surveyed by the United States government.

In the fall of 1857 I was elected a Justice of the Peace in and for Woodbury County. One of the first cases to come before me was the trial of a man named William O. Allen, for killing Bill Craven[s], one of the quarrelling trappers whom we had met at St. James. Allen was bound over to the District Court, and, since there was no jail any nearer, the Sheriff[3] started off with the prisoner to Council Bluffs. They got as far as the Floyd river, then the Sheriff came back and reported that the prisoner had broken away. One thing is certain, he never came back.

[1] The town is still in existence.
[2] And into the penitentiary.
[3] John Braden.

Previous to our leaving St. James, the four trappers had had a second quarrel. "Old Mitch" was killed[1] by a blow on the head, "decently" buried in a shoe box, and nothing was ever done about it.

During the spring elections of 1858, Bill Copeland had a quarrel with H. W. Tracey, in front of the latter's store on lower Pearl street. As a result Tracey shot him. This was the third violent death among these four men inside of a year. But such things were not uncommon on the frontier in those early days. The survivor, John [Henry] Campbell, soon went east "for his health," and what became of him I do not know. I had had enough interest in these men to keep track of them as far as stated.

Because of the escape of Allen and the miscarriage of justice in other cases I became so disgusted with the office of Justice of the Peace that I would have nothing more to do with it. But before leaving the subject altogether I might mention another of my exploits as Justice.

One day while I was putting up an office opposite the Sioux City House, on Pearl street, a man drove up and asked me if I was Mr. Charles. I replied that I was. Then he asked if I was a Justice of the Peace. Again I gave him an affirmative answer. He said I was wanted at the Pacific Hotel, down on Fourth street, where there was a small settlement.

I got into his rig and went with him, expecting that I was wanted to make acknowledgment of a deed. Reaching the hotel I was led to the parlor, and there introduced to a Miss Livermore and a Mr. [Osmond] Plato, who, I was informed, desired me to marry them. I wouldn't have been more surprised if they had told me I was to be shot. Up to that time my experience with weddings had been slight; I had seen just one, my sister's. What to do I did not know. Just then the men who had come after me handed me a paper and said: "This is their license." I took the license and looked it over, pretending to read, but, in reality, I was trying to make up my mind what to say. Having made it up, I asked the parties to stand up and join hands. Then I asked if there were any

[1] By Henry Campbell, mentioned in the following paragraph.

objections to the union of the couple. There being none, I said, "By virtue of the authority vested in me as a Justice of the Peace I pronounce you man and wife," and it was all over and just as well done as if it had been performed according to the elaborate Episcopalian ring service.

On the first day of January, 1858, there came to my office in Sioux City a company of half-breeds and Indians from across the Big Sioux, who wanted me to come over there and marry a Frenchman and a Crow squaw.

While I was first a Justice the title "Squire" became attached to my name. After I had thrown up the office, following the escape of Allen, the murderer of Craven[s], I was still "Squire." Some years later I was appointed Justice by J. P. Allison, County Judge, to fill out an unexpired term. But when asked to go over to Dakota Territory[1] to marry this couple I was not a Justice at all, and so had no authority to perform such ceremonies. Even if I had been a Justice, my jurisdiction would not have extended outside of Woodbury County, much less outside of the State. So, of course, I refused to go.

The company went down town and saw Mr. L. H. Kennerly, who sent them back with instructions for me to go over and marry the couple. By and by Mr. Kennerly, himself, came up and talked with me. He said the Indians wanted me very badly and honestly believed that I could legally perform the ceremony. I repeated the statement that I had no authority, but finally, after Mr. Kennerly had presented the matter at length, I arranged for an escort of some twenty men and promised to go.

In truth, I was afraid of the half-breeds and didn't want to go. I know now that it was not a serious matter, but I thought differently then.

Next day we crossed the river. Arriving at the hut where the ceremony was to be performed we found everything in readiness. Without much delay I had the couple stand up. The Frenchman could not understand a word of English nor the Squaw a word of either French or English. The Squaw

[1] This phrase is allowable, though Dakota Territory was not established till March 2, 1861

had insisted that an American perform the ceremony. She had been deceived upon a previous occasion and now would trust only an American.

After the ceremony I asked a Mr. [Enos] Stutsman, who was present, a one-legged man,[1] but talkative, to make an address. This he did, giving the newly married couple some good advice (which they could not understand), and wishing all present a good time and finally that all might go to the Happy Hunting Grounds and have a continual good time there.

The next thing on the program was the feast to be given at another house down on the bank of the Missouri river. To this place we proceeded through the brush and timber, each fellow for himself. Even the bride and groom had to travel in this way. Arriving at the house we found ample provision had been made for the feast. Great camp kettles full of bouillon (soup of dog) made up the principal dish. Of this all were invited to partake. Nearly all present did, but for some reason I had no appetite. Then I was given a piece of beaver tail, considered by the Indians a great delicacy. This was considered an honor for me, for, since I had performed the marriage ceremony, I was looked upon by the Indians as a great chief, and treated as one—at very little expense to themselves.

After we had sat down to the feast some one asked where the bride and groom were. We all looked around but they were certainly not present. Upon investigation we found them outside. We at once made room for them and brought them in so that they might partake of their own wedding feast. Coffee and hardtack were now served, so I did not go hungry, in spite of the bouillon.

After supper we all went back to the Angie cabin, where the marriage ceremony had been performed. Here a certain John Brazo [Brazeau] played the fiddle and the dance proceeded, as was customary upon such occasions. Brazo was a character who was accustomed to say that he was the first "white man" in this part of the country. In fact, if he was not a negro, for he was as black as one, or a mulatto, he was at least a very dark Spaniard. In my opinion he had both negro

[1] A cripple from birth. Both legs were deformed and almost missing.

and Indian blood in his veins, but that made no difference with him. He considered himself a white man, and as far as he was concerned, that settled it. After the dance our party returned to Sioux City. This was the first wedding in Dakota Territory after white settlers came to Sioux City.

Whatever became of the married couple I do not know. I presume, however, that the Frenchman learned the Indian language, since the French did this readily, and perhaps became a fur trader. Of the twenty white persons who accompanied me across the river to perform that marriage ceremony but two or three are left to tell the story [1904]. One still living is James E. Booge, of Sioux City, and another is "Gov." F. M. Ziebach, of Yankton, S. Dak.

In 1857 there were two clusters of houses in Sioux City, one on the levee on Second street and the other in the region of Sixth and Douglas. At the latter place were located the United States land offices for the receiving and registration of claims, as well as the offices of many private land agents.

The first settler in Sioux City, probably, was Joseph Lyonais [Leonais] or Theophile Brughier [Bruguier].

Dr. John K. Cook, government surveyor, laid out the first city and named the streets. It consisted of a half section, laid out into lots, on the west side of Perry creek. This was in 1854.

Then Sioux City East was laid out on the east side of Perry creek, followed by a half section up on the bluffs known as Chamberlain quarter.

The population in 1857 numbered less than one thousand, though it was larger in this year than at any subsequent date till 1865, the last year of the war. Of the population, anywhere from two-thirds to three-fourths were transients, many of whom were frightened away by the hard times following the panic of 1857 and by Indian scares during the war. The population came largely to make money out of the sale of northwestern Iowa lands. One-fourth of the State was for sale at the Sioux City land offices.

The inhabitants came from all parts of the United States, but in largest numbers from Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois. Pennsylvania and Ohio were not so numerously rep-

resented.[1] I was called a Pennsylvanian because I was born there, but, as I had lived most of my life in Ohio, I was more truly an Ohioan.

Everything needed in a frontier town came up the river by steamboat from St. Louis or Council Bluffs. The regular mail came in this way.

I remember I came into Sioux City from Fort Dodge in an open wagon, called a stage by courtesy, which carried mail. This was one of the first overland mails to come to Sioux City. During my first year of residence in Sioux City [1857] a number of boats ran regularly in the Sioux City trade. Coming up from St. Louis about once a month they brought us almost everything. I remember especially the Omaha, Captain Wineland, as being one of the most regular. The American Fur Company's boats for the upper river made but one trip a year, it was so long and perilous. Going up in the spring, loaded with merchandise, they did not return till fall, full of valuable furs. These boats all stopped at Sioux City both going and coming.

The year before I came to Sioux City there occurred a three-cornered contest[2] for the county-seat between Sioux City, Smithland and Sergeant's Bluff. Sioux City outvoted the others, and got the prize.

The election was held near the corner of Sixth and Douglas streets at the United States land office.[3] Out in the street in front of the office there was a well. A barrel of whisky was brought, placed beside the well and tapped. Whisky was as free as water that day, and as easily obtained.

The first election after I came to Sioux City took place in August, 1857. It was the charter election, i. e., the election when a city charter was voted on. The charter carried unani-

[1] A study by the editor of the nativity of seventy of the old settlers of Woodbury County showed that the largest number was born in New York. Other states ranked in the following order: Vermont, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, etc. These old settlers did not all come to Woodbury County directly from the states of their birth. The states from which most of them came were in this order: Illinois, New York, Ohio, Wisconsin, Indiana and Pennsylvania.

[2] This county-seat election was held on April 7, 1856.

[3] Incorrect. The election was held at Thompsontown or Floyd's Bluff. The incident following, though it probably did not apply to this election, was more or less typical of early elections here.

mously. I was one of the judges of the election, and as Kirkie [Cartier], "the wild Frenchman," came up to vote someone challenged his vote on the ground that he was not a citizen of the United States, but he swore that he was. I administered the oath to him, closing with the words, "So help you God," whereupon he exclaimed, "I hope so, too, for no one else ever helped old Kirkie."

A number of votes were sworn in in this way, among them that of Joe Leonais and others who had been fur traders for the American Fur Company. We did not know whether they were legally citizens or not, but it was safe to have them swear in their votes.

At these early elections we voted everybody. Everyone who could swear in his vote did so. Half-breeds were generally challenged, but since they were always willing to swear in their votes they were allowed to cast them.

There were three wards in Sioux City at this time [Aug., 1857]. Two aldermen were chosen from each ward. I was chosen an alderman from the Second Ward. My colleague was Enos Stutsman. Since the city government was not organized at this time, as will be explained, we never served the city in the capacity of councilmen.

The candidates for mayor at this election had been Ezra Millard[1] and Captain J. B. S. Todd, both democrats. Millard received the largest number of votes, but because of some irregularity the votes of one ward were thrown out and Todd declared elected. Not satisfied with such proceedings Todd refused to serve, leaving the town without any municipal organization until the following spring.

Again [April, 1858] two democratic candidates were pitted against each other. They were Doctor Townsend and Col. [Robt.] Means. The latter was elected, and served as mayor one year.[2] Colonel Means was quite a character. Immediately before retiring each night he always blacked his boots and brushed his hat. The first thing he did upon rising in the morning was to brush his hat and black his boots. Questioned

[1] A brother of United States Senator Joseph A. Millard, of Nebraska.
[2] It was at this election that Tracey shot and killed Copeland.

as to why he did this he would reply, "I black my boots twice so that I may always have a shine left after the top one wears off."

In 1857 Sioux City was a land office town. The two United States senators from Iowa were George W. Jones and A. C. Dodge, both democrats. The democratic party was so strong here that there were not enough republicans to maintain an organization. But the democrats were divided into two factions, called the "Hards" and the "Softs" and this gave the republicans a chance. There were many regular fire-eaters here at that time and elections were generally disorderly.

I remember that when, in 1857, we voted upon the new State constitution I voted to strike out the word "white" and this offended many of my friends. But it was a matter of principle with me. I could not agree in all things with the dominant party. If I had been entitled to a vote in 1856 I should have cast it for Fremont and Dayton. But I had left California too late and had not attained a residence here before election day. I had lost my vote in 1852 in much the same way. In 1848 I cast my first ballot voting for Van Buren and Adams, the third party candidates.

I well remember Thanksgiving Day of 1857 because of a dinner which I attended at the Tremont House, a new hotel built in central Sioux City. Mrs. Hagy kept the hotel. I was made chairman of the evening because I came from the president's State. On my right sat J. P. Allison; on my left H. W. Tracey. Some of the others present were: L. C. Sanborn, Jerome R. White, J. B. Flagg, Al Lovering, Charles Warren, Colonel Means and L. H. Kennerly. All are dead now [1904] except Kennerly, Allison and myself; perhaps Kennerly is, but he was not a year or two ago.

This dinner I have good reason to remember vividly. We had a great old time. Mr. White and I were the only men present who did not drink. We were the only sober ones in the crowd, and sometimes I suspected White.

Each one had to sing a song or tell a story. Some of the boys got up onto the table and walked back and forth over it.

You will find this dinner reported in the *Sioux City Weekly Eagle*, Vol. I.[1]

The *Sioux City Eagle* was the first paper published here. It was edited by Seth W. Swiggett, who died a few years ago in Chicago. In politics the *Eagle* was neutral with democratic leanings. Its first issue was put out on July 4th, 1857. About two years later it was superseded by the *Sioux City Register*, "Gov." F. M. Ziebach, editor.

As I said before, Sioux City was, in the early days, a land office town. The United States Government Land Office, where claims were received and recorded, was situated here, as well as many private real estate agents.

Land sold generally at $1.25 per acre, except when competitive bidding ran it up higher. Men bought not only for themselves, but for friends who were not on the grounds and also for speculation.

An agent was allowed to enter five or six quarter sections at a time. His commission on a quarter was about $40. A common plan was to enter a quarter section at $1.25 per acre and sell it at once on a year's time for from $2.50 to $3.00 per acre. By going east an agent could sell a piece for $4 an acre. There was much politics in the land business. Agents were partial and not all comers were treated with equal fairness.

Early in 1858 Colonel Means and myself were admitted to the bar. He had some knowledge of the law, but I had none except what little I had picked up while I was Justice of the Peace. But the boys were bound to have me be a lawyer, so Colonel Means and I gave a supper. Judge Marshall F. Moore of the District Court presided. He appointed a committee to examine us. They asked us only one or two questions, and then certified that we had passed our examinations. In this way we were admitted to the bar, or as the boys put it, we were admitted to be "eternally at law and solicitous of good chances."

I never practiced law in spite of my highly successful examination for admission to the bar. In fact, about the

[1] The *Eagle* under the date of November 28, 1857, gives a column to the report of this banquet. Nineteen men are named as having been present, Mr. Sanborn's name not being among the list.

only advantage I received was to escape jury service thereafter.

In May, 1861, I was appointed by President Lincoln Indian agent for all the Indians on the Upper Missouri river. I did not accept the appointment because I was to be married the next week in Ohio, but I still have the commission in my possession. In July, 1861, we had an Indian scare here. On the 9th the Inkpaduta band[1] of the Sioux rose and murdered Thomas Roberts and Henry Cordway [Cordua] in Bacon's Hollow, now Greenville, while they were in their fields hoeing corn. It caused a great flurry among the people and stirred them to action.

A greater Indian scare[2] occurred in 1862, when the Santee Sioux rose and massacred the inhabitants of New Ulm, Minn. As the Indians proceeded west from New Ulm into Dakota the settlers along the Big Sioux and James rivers began to leave for Sioux City and the east. They abandoned their crops and newly made homes in such large number that the region was almost depopulated. Much plunder was left to the Indians for the taking. We, in Sioux City, did what we could to stop them. We placed a guard at the ferry across the Floyd river in order that their retreat might be shut off, but it was of no avail, for they would not be stopped. A stockade was built in Sioux City on the river front between Douglas and Pierce streets. Every man in town was expected to help in the work of making the town safe. But the Indians never came near us after that and gradually fear died away. Some of the settlers who had fled never came back. Others returning later found that their claims had been jumped in their absence. Altogether these Indian scares were very expensive.

In the fall of 1862 came the soldiers, parts of three companies, to protect us from the Indians. At first they had a tendency to stop the wholesale departure of settlers, but, finally, when they began to help themselves freely to everything they could find, it was neither pleasant nor helpful to the

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[1] Renegade Indians of the tribe of the Santee Sioux, undoubtedly, but probably not of the followers of Inkpaduta.

[2] Called the "War of the Outbreak" in the history of South Dakota.

town. By and by they left us and went south.[1] We were rid of them and still lived.

Next came the grasshoppers.[2] They were almost as bad as the Indians and soldiers. They mowed down field after field of corn; in fact, they ate up nearly all vegetation, causing much suffering and distress.

It did seem hard upon us to be preyed upon by Indians, soldiers and grasshoppers in such rapid succession. These were lean years for us in Sioux City. It was enough to make even the stoutest hearts quail.

In 1861 Dakota Territory was organized. Settlers had been going into that region for several years. Most of them passed through here on their way. Sioux City was also their depot of supplies, a kind of headquarters or capital for that territory. Some of our people went over there to settle. When Indian troubles threatened Dakota settlers fled here for refuge. Hence Sioux City and Dakota Territory had much in common in those days.

The settlers in Dakota used to be jealous because their judges and other officials often lived in Sioux City while holding office over there. But it was better living here and I couldn't blame them.

We used to go over there at election times to see that some did not vote too often and that all got a chance; in fact, to see that no frauds were permitted. At the first election in Dakota, after the territory was organized, for the choice of a delegate to Congress, J. B. S. Todd was a candidate and was elected. His opponents were [A. J.] Bell, regular republican, and Charles P. Booge, independent. Todd was the people's candidate. He had been elected first mayor of Sioux City four years earlier and his friends here were interested in his candidacy. I recollect that some of us went over the river when election day came to watch the proceedings. Todd was there,[3] but later in the day he went up to Vermilion and left me to look after his interests. The Frenchmen fell out and began to

[1] They were, rather, sent up the river. Later they were mustered out at Sioux City.

[2] Fall of 1864 and spring of 1865.

[3] At Sioux Point, where Frost, Todd & Co. had one of their stores.

quarrel and fight and had an awful time. I wouldn't go through that experience again for all Dakota. Finally, when the votes were counted, it was found that less than 1,000 had been cast, but of these Todd had received a majority, and so was elected.[1] Todd had hardly gone down to Washington before he came back appointed by President Lincoln a Brigadier General and went into northeastern Missouri to fight the guerrillas.

During my first four years in Sioux City, i. e., from 1856 to 1860, I was engaged in the real estate business. I also did considerable surveying. During most of this time I was closely associated with George W. Ryall, who had been a friend in Ohio. Our office was situated on Pearl street, across from the Sioux City House.

In August, 1860, I consolidated my business with that of Means, Allison & Co. The firm name was Allison & Charles. Our office was located on the lot where the public library building now stands. I remained in this firm but one month, selling out on September 6th to George Weare, who is still in the banking business in Sioux City, the oldest banker here and a good one.

I at once entered the general merchandise business of Milton Tootle as a clerk. I received $65 per mouth. The store was on the corner of Second and Pearl streets, and faced the river. Tootle lived in St. Joe, so I was virtually manager of the store. In 1864 Mr. Tootle recognized this and I became a partner with him in the business, the firm name becoming Tootle & Charles. I was now manager in name as well as in fact. We did a large general business, picking up considerable river trade. In 1871 new interests came into the firm, and the name became Tootle & Co. Our steamboat business, which was very attractive to me, now increased rapidly.

In 1875 I left the firm of Tootle & Co. and formed a partnership with A. H. Wilder, of St. Paul. This time the firm name was Charles & Wilder. We owned four steamboats, which ran between Sioux City and the upper river. We carried freight for Indian traders and miners and took government contracts to supply Indian tribes with their annuities.

[1] The vote stood: Todd, 397; Booze, 110; Bell, 78.

Five years later [1880] I helped organize and became interested in the Benton Transportation Company. I became secretary and manager, holding those positions till July 1st, 1900, when the company ceased to exist.

Our business was entirely that of steamboating. From a large business at first, requiring as many as eight steamboats to handle it, we came at last to have almost none, owing to the building of railroads into the west. At the dissolution of the Benton Transportation Company I retired to private life.

The steamboat business was fascinating and romantic. The Missouri river is very treacherous, the channel always shifting. To be a pilot required great skill and courage. The pilot was extremely well paid. But the river was not the only danger. Some of the Indians of the upper river were extremely hostile. It required great courage on the part of the captain, too.

When the steamboats first began to come up the river they were a great curiosity to the Indians and were warmly welcomed, indeed, by the whites. The approach of a steamboat was generally known long enough in advance for a good sized crowd to greet it at the levee when it came to land.

The first steamboat to come as far up the river as Sioux City was the Yellowstone, in 1831. In 1863 two new factors entered in, which increased the number of boats on the river very much. Fully sixteen or eighteen boats were doing business on the upper river, between here and Ft. Benton, in 1863. One reason for the increase was the discovery of gold in Montana, which called for a large amount of manufactured articles as well as for provisions. All freight destined for the mines was taken up the river to Ft. Benton and then hauled by teams to the camps. The second cause was Indian troubles. After the New Ulm disaster in 1863 the United States Government tried to punish the Indians. General Sully was sent up the river in 1863 and still more troops followed in 1864.

The business increased in 1864 and 1865 and then fell away again, until 1868, when it reached high water mark. In the spring of 1864 the first boat up took from our house express packages valued at $6,000. The transportation charges on the goods were often equal to their value. Everything,

from the needles needed for sewing their buckskin to steam engines used for crushing quartz, had to go up the river by boat and had to come by way of Sioux City.

The orders which we used to get were something to be wondered at. Upon one occasion one customer ordered a marriage license and another a tombstone. All sent to me, supposing I could get them whatever they wanted.

The trade was so good that the public soon got its eye upon it. Competition set in, and became very keen. The Union Pacific hurried up construction on its western division so that traffic would go to Salt Lake by rail and thence to Montana by wagons.

I recollect the first gold brought back from Montana in 1862. The party owning it came down the Missouri in boats, which they abandoned here, and proceeded the rest of their way east by stage. I met one man in the party whom I knew. He was an old blacksmith from Mansfield, Ohio. Mr. Thompson, for that was his name, sat and told me stories of the far west for two or three hours. From Sioux City he went by stage to Dubuque and thence to St. Paul.

After the railroads reached Sioux City in 1868 steamboating revived here and became better than ever. A regular line of boats made this their headquarters. Cargoes coming here by the railroad were then reshipped and made the rest of the journey to Montana by boat.

Finally the Utah Northern was completed into Montana. Then, in 1870, the Northern Pacific was built and we were cut off all around. The steamboat business, which was at its height in 1868, began to decline about 1870 and by 1875 it was practically a thing of the past.

II.

FAMOUS MEN RECALLED.

In the fall of 1868 or 1869 I met Audubon as he came down the river, returning east after an expedition to Montana. He was accompanied by Louis Agassiz. Audubon was old and feeble and did not stop here, but continued down the river. Agassiz, who was in the prime of life, stopped off for a couple of days. Sioux City was the first railway station then as one came down the Missouri. From here he went by rail to Chi-

cago. While in town Agassiz spent most of his time in the office of Dr. A. Lawrence, the owner of a line of steamboats. It was there that I met this great naturalist and had several talks with him. He was neither tall nor robust, though he enjoyed good health and was a very hard worker. In his dress I found him a little careless. He was smooth shaven while here and wore glasses when reading. Completely absorbed in his own thoughts, he was a poor conversationalist. Indeed, he was rather impatient with callers, or at least that was what several of us thought who honored him by dropping in to see him. Perhaps if our acquaintance had been longer I could not have said that.

Professor [E. D.] Cope, of the University of Pennsylvania, also stopped off in Sioux City on two of his Missouri river trips. With him I became quite well acquainted. Some time before his first visit a boat pilot had found, way up the Missouri river, some of the bones of a plesiosaurian. He brought them down to Sioux City and I gave him $25 for them. When Professor Cope was here I gave the bones to him. Later he printed a description of the bones in a paper published by the University and in it he gave me a complimentary notice.[1]

Professor Cope was intense, very much wrapped up in his subject [zoology]. He could hardly talk anything else. During his second visit here a trip up the Big Sioux was arranged

[1] The paper in question was entitled, *On the Structure of the Skull in the Plesiosaurian Reptilia, and on Two New Species from the Upper Cretaceous*, by E. D. Cope. It was read before the American Philosophical Society on February 2, 1894, printed in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 33, and reprinted in pamphlet form on March 6, 1894. The paper is a description of two specimens. One of these, termed "Embaphias circulosus," is declared to be both a new genus and a new species. After the description and measurements occurs this paragraph: "This is a species of large size, though not equal in dimensions to the known species of Elasmosaurus. It was found in the upper cretaceous bed of the Pierre epoch, at the big bend of the Missouri river in South Dakota. It was presented to the Academy of Natural Science by Mr. John H. Charles, of Sioux City, together with the remains of Elasmosaurus below mentioned. I wish to express my sense of the obligation under which Mr. Charles has placed the academy and myself by his liberality in this and other matters."

The second specimen, termed "Elasmosauras intermedius," is declared to be a new species. Following the description and measurements occur the words: "This specimen was found with that of the Embaphias circulosus at the Big Bend of the Missouri in South Dakota, and was presented to the museum of the Academy of Natural Science by Mr. John H. Charles, of Sioux City, Iowa.

by D. W. Jenkins, Perrin Johnson, George W. Felt, Professor Cope and myself. On the morning of the proposed trip Cope came to my house after me before I was up. He seemed much interested in all we had to show him.

Professor Cope was a German looking sort of a man, with black beard and eyes. His appearance was neat. He was of wiry build, a good conversationalist, a travel-polished student and gentleman.

When the old Scientific Association, the parent of the present Academy of Science and Letters, was in its second year, having some money in the treasury, we decided to secure some noted man for a course of lectures. At the suggestion of D. H. Talbot, one of our charter members, correspondence was begun with Alfred Russell Wallace, the great English scientist, who was then in this country. The result of the correspondence was that Mr. Wallace, after finishing an engagement in New York State, came out to Sioux City and gave us a course of four or five lectures upon the subject of evolution.[1] We threw the lectures open to the public, and they were well received.

Several of us became quite well acquainted with Mr. Wallace during his stay of a week in Sioux City. We found him a typical English gentleman in every particular. He was a much traveled man of wide acquaintance. He understood himself and had confidence in himself. Though nothing of a society man he was easily approached by friends. Only those who felt antagonized by his views had any reason to feel his reserve.

Polite, genteel, neat in dress, he stood six feet high and was built in proportion. At the time of his visit here he was wearing a closely cropped beard.

Wallace was not an orator, not even a smooth speaker. He spoke carefully, without notes, and always kept within bounds. His lectures were strictly scientific. It was what he said, rather than how, that attracted. He was a pleasing conversationalist, one not given at all to small talk. Though it was

[1] Mr. Wallace delivered but three lectures before the association. They were entitled, "The Darwinian Theory," "The Origin and Uses of Colors in Animals," and "Oceanic Islands." This was in the spring of 1887.

hard for him to get away from the subject of evolution, I do not remember that he spoke a single time while here concerning his own great part in the working out of the evolutionary hypothesis.

In the fall of 1859 Samuel J. Kirkwood, republican candidate for governor, and A. C. Dodge, democratic candidate for the same office, held a joint debate in Sioux City. I met and became acquainted with both gentlemen. Abe White and I went down below Sergeant's Bluff and met Kirkwood, who drove in, and brought him back to Sioux City. Dodge came in a little later on the stage from Council Bluffs.

Kirkwood was a farmer, and looked it. He wore coarse shoes, no stockings and flannel shirt. But though he was simple and plain he was also honest and straightforward, and so impressed people. He took well here. Though he didn't carry the town, because of the big democratic majority here in those days, he succeeded in reducing that majority considerably. He was elected governor.

Dodge was the son of a United States senator from Wisconsin. He, himself, was one of Iowa's first two senators. He became a United States senator when Iowa became a state, in 1846.[1] He was re-elected once. Then he was succeeded by James Harlan, a republican. He was nominated by his party for governor in 1859. It was thought that his services to Iowa in Washington, D. C., both before and after the State was admitted, would elect him governor, but they didn't. He was just the opposite kind of a man from Kirkwood. He was very dressy, with his patent leather boots, white shirt and starched collars. In fact, he was quite a gentleman and aristocrat. He was a good man, however, and smart. In speaking he was earnest, but a little rhetorical. He was made much of here by his party, and probably lost votes here only because opinion in Iowa was turning strongly to the republicans.

George W. Jones, of Dubuque, was Dodge's colleague in the United States Senate. I knew him better than I did Dodge. Jones was interested in the establishment of Sioux City. He

[1] This is not strictly true. Dodge was one of Iowa's first two senators but was not chosen until 1848. A deadlock in the legislature in 1846 left the State without representation in the upper house of Congress until 1848.

owned one-eighth of the town, and was the most important factor in getting governmental legislation favorable to the place. He did many things of advantage to the town; in fact, he was a sort of patron saint to Sioux City.

Jones used to come here very often. I remember that in the spring of 1857, while he was yet a United States senator, he went up the Missouri river as far as Ft. Randall. On his return he left the boat here, and went home to Dubuque, across the State.

Senator Jones was a good-looking man, small in size, but well built. He must have been about fifty years of age in 1857. To me he looked like an Englishman. He did not impress me as a very remarkable man, and yet he must have been, though Dodge was the brainier of the two men, I think. Jones was more democratic or common in his dress and appearance. He was not much of an actor, was easy to get acquainted with and had a strong hold upon the people. Dr. S. P. Yeomans was his best friend in Sioux City. Yeomans was in the legislature at the time of Jones' last election to the United States Senate and cast the decisive vote for him for that office. Jones made Yeomans first register of the United States land office in Sioux City.

One of the most interesting characters I ever knew in this northwest country in the early days was Charles Larpenteur, a French Indian trader. I say a Frenchman, but since he spoke German as fluently as he did French it is my judgment that his ancestry was Swiss-French. Larpenteur came from the region of the St. Lawrence river to the Upper Mississippi, where he traded for a time. Then he changed over to the Missouri river. At first he worked for the company of Pierre Chouteau, of St. Louis, but later for himself. While in the employ of Chouteau he was stationed as agent at various places up the river, among them Ft. Union, at the mouth of the Yellowstone. I knew Larpenteur well. He purchased goods of me for his trade with the Indians for several years.

He was a delicately built man, though his life was one of much hardship. I believe he was thoroughly honest and upright. If he was more conscientious, he also had more refinement than the majority of the French Indian traders. His

wife was an American woman. At the trading business he was very successful, so I think he did not lose because of his honesty.

In 1848, or thereabouts, Larpenteur settled at a ford on the Little Sioux, in Harrison County, Iowa. This particular ford was on the route from Sioux City to Council Bluffs. A little town grew up around him, which he called Fontainbleau. There he lived till 1873, farming in the summer and trading up the river with the Indians in the winter season.

Larpenteur was alive to the romance of his career. He kept an interesting journal, which has since been edited by Coues and published by Harper. It is very interesting to me.

Two of the most prominent men ever connected with the fur trade of the Northwest and with the business of steamboating on the Missouri were Pierre Chouteau, Sr. and Jr. They were Frenchmen, descended from the men who first settled and laid out St. Louis. The father first traded upon the Upper Mississippi, but later transferred to the Missouri. He built the first steamboat on the river, and ran it up to the mouth of the Yellowstone in 1831, astonishing the natives and everyone else who saw it.

When I came to Sioux City they were the principal men doing business on the Upper Missouri. Of course, they always had competition, but it never amounted to much. I did business personally with Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and so was acquainted with him, but not with his father.

I was better acquainted with some of the steamboat captains and pilots than I was with the principals whom they served. Two of the greatest pilots that ever guided a boat up the Missouri river were Joseph and John LaBarge, two French brothers, who lived in St. Louis. After serving the American Fur Company for years they at length purchased boats of their own and operated them independently. For years they stopped at Sioux City both fall and spring. Our house acted as their agents here. John LaBarge, the younger of the two, died in the service of the Benton Transportation Company. Joseph, the elder, continued steamboating till the early nineties, when the business languished and finally died. His career was as long as that of the business he followed. In his *History*

of Steamboating on the Missouri River Colonel Chittenden weaves his story around the life of Joseph LaBarge, and makes a hero of him. While Joseph was older and was the head and front of the LaBarge interests, still John was a steamboat pilot and captain whom everyone looked up to. In my opinion he was as good a pilot as any the river ever had. He was a man of undoubted veracity and good character, too.

Joseph was a large, portly man. He used glasses and always wore a beard. He was a man of few words, much more dignified and reserved than John, who for this very reason was the more popular.

Among the first men I met after I came to Sioux City was Dr. John K. Cook. He was a man of splendid physique, an Englishman by birth, educated as a physician. He came here in the early days as a Deputy United States Surveyor. It was said that he came to this country for the purpose of joining the Mormons, but of this I have never seen any definite proof. He was a man of good habits, considering that everyone on the frontier drank whisky and chewed and smoked tobacco; all of which he did, but with moderation.

Cook was the first postmaster of Sioux City, and it was said that he had his office in his hat and handed out letters to the citizens whenever he happened to meet them on the streets. I can't vouch for the truth of this statement, for when I came here Mr. [S. T.] Davis was assistant postmaster, and whenever the mail came in he blew a horn and we all went at once to the postoffice, on Second street, between Pearl and Water, and the mail was distributed.

At this time Cook was about fifty years old and a married man. He was easy-going in his habits and very popular. For a number of years he was the only practicing physician here, and was very successful. I doubt if he ever made out a bill in his life. He was not much of a surveyor, though he did plat the first edition of Sioux City. He was a member of the first company which owned the town. His share was one-eighth. He disposed of his interest too soon, and hence did not make much out of it.

Probably the oldest settler within the present limits of Sioux City was Theophile Bruguier, a French Canadian, who lived

on the river here for several years prior to the founding of Sioux City. From Canada he went to St. Louis, where he entered into the service of Pierre Chouteau [Sr.] and became a fur trader, his field of operations being the Upper Missouri. He became very intimate with the Indians, in fact he practically lived as an Indian until the whites came to this locality in large enough numbers to plant a colony.

Long before the Indians left this vicinity Bruguier settled at the mouth of the Big Sioux. This was about 1849. He had married a daughter of War Eagle, chief of the Yankton Sioux, and when she died he married a second daughter. War Eagle lived with him till he (War Eagle) died, whereupon he was buried upon the bluff along the Big Sioux, this side of Bruguier's place. Bruguier had lots of children, half-breeds of course, but they turned out to be the worst kind of Indians. Sometime after the whites came Bruguier went to St. Louis and married a French woman. He brought her up here and lived with her till he died. She made him a good wife.

Bruguier was a large man, with black hair and beard. He was careless in his dress. His education had been neglected. He was a good-hearted man, but his ideas of right and wrong were peculiar. They were not as well defined as they should have been, but it cannot be said that the frontier was the best place in the world to develop morals. Those pioneers, many of them still living, but rapidly falling off, who came through it all morally sound, were true men, indeed.

Bruguier was a sociable man, rather talkative. I think he was a little inclined to paint his stories to suit the occasion at hand. He especially liked to tell what "I done to the Injuns."

One of the most influential men in Sioux City when I came was J. B. S. Todd, early settler, trader, land speculator, politician and soldier. He was elected first mayor of Sioux City, but did not serve. Later he moved across the Big Sioux, his object being to get land in Dakota and become rich by holding it. He had seen land values rise in Iowa and expected the same to occur in Dakota. They sent him to Congress as the first delegate from Dakota Territory, after its organization in 1861. He didn't stay long, but soon came back, appointed a Brigadier General by President Lincoln. Todd was a demo-

crat in politics, but supported President Lincoln, who was a relative of his by marriage.

Todd was in partnership with a man of means who lived in St. Louis. The firm name was Frost, Todd & Co. They had stores at Sioux Point, across the Big Sioux, at Vermillion, at Yankton Agency and Fort Randall.

Todd was a tall man, but slender. His health was not good. He had been sickly from birth. He wore while here a full beard, reddish in color, like his hair. Educated at West Point he was a very capable man. He always passed as a gentleman, was sociable and very popular. His one fault was a common one here at that time, he couldn't let whisky alone.

OLD LETTERS.

EDITED BY WILLIAM SALTER.

I.

GEORGE DAVENPORT TO GEORGE W. JONES.

George Davenport was born in England. Came to the United States in 1804; served in the United States army, 1805-15; came to Rock Island, 1816, where he built a trading-house and was an Indian trader for the American Fur Company. In 1835 George W. Jones was delegate to Congress from Michigan Territory, to which what is now Iowa was attached by act of Congress, June 28, 1834. In 1836-'8, he was delegate to Congress from Wisconsin Territory, which then extended from Lake Michigan to the Missouri river.[1]

The following is a literal transcript of the letters:

Rock Island, Illinois
Dec. 20, 1835

To the Honble
Geo. W. Jones
House of Representatives
Washington City

Dear Sir:

KeOkuk the principle chief of the Sac & Foxes has had a letter mail to Govoner Reynolds requesting him to lay it before the presi-

[1] *Annals*, First Series, I, 99; Third Series, III, 392. The "Flint Hill Settlement" was what is now Burlington.

dent wishing to sell his reserve on the Ioway River. You cannot confer a greater favour on the settlers of your territory, than by advocating its purchase, it will be nessary for Congress to make an aproperation for the purchase.

KeOkuk and the chiefs wish verrey much to visite Washington City and make sale of the reserve to commissioners appointed at that place. They wish to visite the United States at their own expence paying it out of the money they are to receive for their lands, rather than not be permited to come on. You will oblige me if you will forward the wish of the Indians, it will be the greatest benefit you can confer on your frendes in the Territory and particularly flint hill Settlement, as the country is valuable and verrey much wanted by the Settlers.

Will you please to confer with Gov. Reynold on the subject, who is verrey friendly to the Indians and a well wisher to the prosperity of our western territory—

I am Respect'ly your friend

GEO. DAVENPORT.

Washington City
Feb. 6, 1837.

Honbl Geo. W. Jones

Sir.

I understand that two Indians is hear Belongin to a small band of Indians of the Sac Tribe that left the nation some years since and now reside on the Missouri

I am informed that thay want the government to assign part of the annuertys Belongin to the nation to them.

The Chiefs of the Sac & Fox nation have been making application for the last five years for premission from the government to com on to Washington City to Settle the question respecting their treateys and Boundrey lines, but goverment has from time to time refused them premission, and the agent and Others advised them not to go to Washington without premission. that the goverment would not councel or receve them if they did.—

This being the impression on the minds of the Sac & Fox Chiefs they would think it unjust for the department to make aney alterations respecting their annuertys without their consent.

be pleased to impress uppon the department the properiety of Referring the complaint of those Indians to Govnor Doge Superintendant of Indian affairs, whear the depitation of the Sac of the Missouri could meet the chiefs of the Sac & Foxes and the settlement made in this maner would be satisfactory to the nation, but I hope the department will do nothing to affect the rights of the Sac

& Fox nation without giving the chiefs an opportunity to be heard, not one of the band thats on the Missouri was a party in making the treaty for which those annuertys is paid to the nation.

Respectfully your Ob. Ser.

GEO. DAVENPORT.

II.

HENRY DODGE TO JEREMIAH SMITH.

Jeremiah Smith was a member of the last legislature of Michigan Territory, which met at Green Bay, and of the first legislature of Wisconsin Territory, which held its first session at Belmont. It was upon his promise to erect at Burlington a suitable building for the next session of the Territorial legislature of Wisconsin, that the legislature voted to meet there. He put up the building in 1837 at his own expense, and the legislature met therein until it was destroyed by fire on a wintry night. Congress voted an appropriation to reimburse him for the loss, but another man of his name got off with the money. He had been an Indian trader, and was present at the treaty made by Governor Dodge with the Sacs and Foxes, Sept. 28, 1836, by which they sold to the United States their reserve on the Iowa river, and they agreed to pay out of their annuities in the course of ten years what they owed to various traders, including Jeremiah Smith. He had a farm immediately west of the original boundary of Burlington, over which the city has since been extended. Black Hawk was a visitor there the year before his death; the cabin in which he was entertained still stands in the rear of the home of Mrs. Amelia Hay, 2700 West Avenue, the eldest daughter of Jeremiah Smith, born in Burlington, April 18, 1835.

Superintendency of Indian Affairs
for the Territory of Wisconsin
Mineral Point, June 7, 1837.

Major Jeremiah Smith
Burlington, Des Moines Co., W. T.

Sir—

The Senate of the United States having confirmed and ratified the Treaty with the Sacs and Foxes of the 28th September, 1836, with an amendment to the Second article thereof providing for the payment of $48,458 87-100 to enable said Indians to pay such debts as may

be ascertained by the Superintendent to be justly due from them to individuals, in lieu of the residue of said article following the word "dollars" in the third line, I have appointed from the 28th day of June inst to the tenth day of July next at Mineral Point for the examination and adjustment of all debts due from them to individuals. when and where you will please to attend in person or by proxy with your account properly authenticated for settlement.

Very respectfully
Your obt. servt
HENRY DODGE
Supt. In Affs

III.

WILLIAM B. SLAUGHTER[1] TO JEREMIAH SMITH AND GEORGE W. JONES.

Mineral Point, Feb. 20th 1838

Major Jeremiah Smith
Burlington, Wisconsin Ty.

Enclosed is the letter I informed you I would write to Col. Jones in reference to your loss by the fire. I have no doubt that Col. Jones will do everything in his power to aid you, and he can do a great deal at Washington. I do not believe we could send a man there who would accomplish more than he.

Yr friend
W. B. SLAUGHTER.

Mineral Point, Feb. 20th 1838

Hon. George W. Jones, H. of Rep. Washington City

I intended long since to have written to you on the subject of Major Jeremiah Smith's loss by the burning of the temporary Capitol constructed by him for the accommodation of the Legislature of Wisconsin. It is almost unnecessary to say to you anything in reference to the building itself, for you have seen it and know that it was calculated for the purpose, and that such a building could not have cost at the time it was built much less than eight or nine thousand dollars. The country is new and the materials for building scarce. Labor is high in all the country and provisions also of every description.

A good deal is due to Major Smith on account of his energy and enterprise in undertaking a building of that kind on his own individual resources, and still more for his patriotism in thus providing

[1] Mr. Slaughter was the second Secretary of Wisconsin Territory (*Annals*, III, 384-5).

for the convenience & comfort of the Representatives of the people. We can only appreciate such motives and conduct when we contrast them with the miserly selfishness of the great mass who seek their own advantage to the exclusion of the interests of all others. I hope you will exert yourself to procure a sufficient sum to reward him amply for his loss and for all his exertions and patriotism. As ever your sincere friend W. B. SLAUGHTER

IV.

JOHN CHAMBERS, GOVERNOR OF IOWA TERRITORY, TO JEREMIAH SMITH.

Burlington, Iowa, 16th Sept., 1844

Major J. Smith, Present

Sir—I deem it unnecessary that you should go to the District of Columbia as a Witness against Jeremiah Smith Sen'r, and will immediately write to Mr. Penrose, Solicitor of the Treasury, and inform him of having given you this statement.

Respectfully yours &c

JOHN CHAMBERS

V.

T. S. WILSON, J. WILLIAMS, CHARLES MASON TO JAMES K. POLK.

Iowa City, January 21, A. D. 1845

To His Excellency James K. Polk, President of the United States

The undersigned Judges of the Supreme Court of Iowa having understood that the friends of James Clarke, Esq. of Burlington, would present his name to your Excellency for the appointment of the office of Marshal for Iowa, take with great pleasure this opportunity of bearing testimony to his talents, high standing and great moral worth, and of expressing the great gratification which his appointment would afford us. There is no man in the Territory better qualified or more worthy, and from a long and intimate personal acquaintance with him we can say that his business habits are of the highest order, and that the duties of the office would be well attended to by him. Thus far we have spoken of him as a citizen and friend. So far as political considerations are concerned, Mr. C.'s claims are of the highest character. He has been the Editor of the best and most influential paper in the Territory,—a paper which has done much towards the promulgation of Democratic principles and to bringing about the triumphs of the Democracy in the Territory. Mr. C. was appointed by Mr. Van Buren to the office of

Secretary of the Territory, the duties of which were discharged by him with great satisfaction to the people of the Territory, but he was removed by Gen. Harrison when the Whigs here acknowledged that he was the most faithful officer that had ever performed the duties of that office. Believing him to have been badly treated in this matter—knowing that there could have been no ground for such removal except his ardent attachment to democratic principles, and that such is the feeling of the party towards him, we would like to see justice done to him.

With sentiments of the highest esteem we are Yours respectfully

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A letter similar to the above was sent to President Polk from Dubuque, signed by Charles Corkery, George Greene, Warner Lewis, John King, David S. Wilson, J. M. Emerson, C. H. Booth, and others.

VI.

JAMES CLARKE TO A. C. DODGE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Burlington, Nov. 16, 1845

* * * Chambers has left for Kentucky, and the Sec'y is now discharging the Executive duties. If I am to receive the appointment it would have pleased me to have been commissioned in time to meet the Legislature, so as to have had the advantage of a message; but I despair now of such a result. My only course therefore is to call all my philosophy into requisition and patiently take things as they come.

This is one of the first letters I have written since my return from Wisconsin. For four weeks I was confined to my bed with ague and a salivated mouth, during which time I was a most miserable being. A week ago I ventured out for the first time, and have since been slowly but gradually improving. I feel that it will require the greatest care and prudence during the whole of the winter to prevent a relapse, and am resolved to be as prudent as possible in avoiding all danger.[1]

[1] Two days after the date of the above letter, Mr. Clarke received his commission as Governor, and he sent his message to the legislature, December 3rd.

VII.

GOVERNOR CLARKE TO JUDGE T. S. WILSON.

Burlington—Feb. 22, 1846.

Hon. T. S. Wilson
Dubuque

My Dear Sir:

A letter written by L. A. Thomas, Esq. of your place and dated Jan. 27th in relation to the trial of the Indians confined in the Dubuque jail on a charge of murder did not reach me till last night. By some mistake it was forwarded to Libertyville, Ill., and thence to this place. I regret the blunder which prevented the letter from coming into my possession for so long a period after it was written, inasmuch as its contents were of a character requiring an immediate reply.

Mr. T. expresses the conviction that the offence with which these Indians are charged is cognizable under the laws of the U. S. and under these laws only; and refers to the act of Con. of 30th June, 1802, to sustain his position.

My impression is (and I think an examination of the subject will lead you to the same conclusion) that the provisions of this act are intended to apply to offences committed within the Indian country and elsewhere where the laws of the States and Terry's do not extend; and in this opinion I am borne out by Judge Mason with whom I have conversed on the subject. The murder of Hertze was committed in Clayton county, and is, I have no doubt, cognizable under the laws of the Territory. The case is a parallel one with that of the Leagarden murderers, who were tried and sentenced in your district.

I know of no instance in which crimes committed within the organized limits of a State or Territory have been prosecuted in the manner and form pointed out in the Act of Congress referred to by Mr. Thomas.

Still, if the counsel for the Indians doubt the jurisdiction of our local laws in the case, they can easily test the question by suing out a writ of *habeas corpus*.

Could the proceedings be properly instituted under the laws of the U. S., thereby releasing the Co's of Clayton and Dubuque from the expense which they must otherwise be necessarily subjected to, it would certainly be most gratifying to me to see the prosecution take that direction.

It will hardly be maintained, however, that concurrent jurisdiction exists, leaving it optional with us which to choose.

The opinion already advanced by me must preclude any interference in the matter which would lead to a departure from the course heretofore pursued in similar cases, unless, upon further ex-

amination and reflection, I become convinced that my conclusions were erroneous.

I write you at the request of Mr. Thomas. Estimating very highly his legal talents and acquirements, I differ with him not without distrust of the correctness of my views. He may, however, have given the subject but a cursory examination. Your opinion on the point involved I should like to have in writing, at an early day. If the case is not cognizable under the laws of Iowa, then have all the trials of Indians which have heretofore taken place been irregular and illegal.

Have you determined to hold a special court in Clayton Co. for the trial of these Indians? It is very desirable that a speedy trial should be had, both on account of the Indians (to whom confinement is worse than death) and of the expense which their protracted imprisonment must entail on Dubuque and Clayton Co's.

Either show, or detail the contents of this letter, to Mr. Thomas, at your pleasure. I am anxious that he be apprised of the delay in the rec't of his letter, so as to stand exonerated from the *seeming lack* of promptness in giving it the necessary attention.

Respectfully and truly, yours

JAMES CLARKE.

VIII.

JAMES CLARKE TO A. C. DODGE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Burlington, Feb. 14, 1849

* * * There is little or nothing doing at the Land Offices at present. and the country is full of warrants [bounties of land to soldiers in the Mexican war]. They are selling very low and but little can be made on them. I sold two the other day for $110 each. Others here are selling them at this price rather than lose a sale, and I concluded it best to meet them in the market. There is another risk which should not be overlooked—we are compelled to receive in payment notes of very many banks, and it is unsafe to keep these notes on hand a moment longer than is necessary.

Have you ever talked to Gen. Cameron on the subject of a Land Warrant speculation? Jesse Williams says that fifty warrants might be *loaned* at their face, with 10 per cent interest for one or two years, and he would like to be interested in such a speculation.

The California feeling runs very high, and will take off a large number of people from Iowa in the spring. In this county the prospect is that not less than 100 will leave. Had I not gone into business just at the time I did, I would have been on my way to the land of gold weeks ago.

We very much regret to hear of the impaired health of your father. Christy feels quite sad; but we both hope to hear of his speedy recovery.

The weather is very cold, and there is no prospect of a break-up.

Try and persuade your father and Gen. Jones to stop with us a day or two on their way home. Give to both of them our highest regards.

IX.

MRS. CHRISTIANA DODGE (HENRY) TO MRS. CHRISTIANA CLARKE[1] (JAMES).

Washington, February 19th, 1850

* * * Your father's health is improving; a bad cold gave him a backset, but he is getting better of that and gains. This climate is very changeable; bad colds prevail very much. Give my love to Mr. Clarke and the children and kiss them all for me. Your father joins me in love to you all. God in his mercy bless you, my dear daughter, is the constant prayer of

Your affectionate Mother.

X.

JULIUS F. TALLANT TO A. C. DODGE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Burlington, August 7, 1850

It was almost the last request of our departed friend, Gov. Clarke, that I should write you, and give a full account of the mournful occurrences of the last month. Extreme mental excitement consequent upon overexertion, day and night, among those stricken down with the scourge which has raged so awfully among us, and the fact that nearly every person considering himself a friend, near or remote, of the family, appeared to have flooded you with letters, has prevented me from doing this before.

At this late date, it is useless to recall all the deprivations that have befallen the Governor's family. I was with him during the greater part of his illness until he was insensible. Mr. Coolbaugh will visit you, in Washington, according to a promise he made before he left here, and will communicate to you verbally all the particulars. Until he returns, everything will be left in *statu quo*.

What shall be done with the Gazette now?—is a question which every member of our party is asking. Could you not send us a

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[1] Mrs. Clarke died July 14th, and Mr. Clarke July 28th, 1850, of epidemic cholera.—*Iowa Historical Record*, IV. 11,

good man from Washington to take charge of it, strong-minded enough to steer clear of cliques, and clear-headed and intelligent? I have been doing all that has been done for the paper since Mr. Clarke's death, except one article, but I can never do it justice, following as I do a business which requires my undivided attention, and a laborious county office on top of it, to say nothing of the exertions all of our citizens have been compelled to make among the sick and dying, in the most sultry and oppressive weather ever felt, for the last month.

When Mr. Clarke was taken ill, he engaged Judge Webber to take charge of the paper, but when the epidemic appeared, the Judge left town and has not returned yet. We will try to get along somehow till Mr. Coolbaugh comes back, and do what we can for the paper.

The Democratic ticket has been again dragged through, despite the bolting of the grocery keepers, and the Catholics, both Irish and German. We may now consider our county as permanently Democratic. We lost heavily by the California emigration, and felt very apprehensive that the Whigs would have a majority.

We are happy to say that the epidemic has left us entirely now. It *has* left, but in its track is many a desolate household, many a mourning widow and weeping orphans. Heaven it is to be hoped, will find friends for those in need, and there are many such. As a body our citizens have behaved admirably, many devoting themselves entirely to the sick, regardless of fear of infection. Their nobility of mind has not been unrewarded; not a man of those who thus offered themselves as voluntary victims of its wrath, has suffered. Our friend Carpenter (Anthony W.) has been truly a ministering angel in this dread hour. A Township trustee, and as such called on by all whom poverty had rendered incapable of assisting themselves, day after day he devoted himself to alleviating their sufferings and ministering to their wants.

XI.

ROBERT E. LEE, BREVET COLONEL TOPOGRAPHICAL ENGINEERS, TO A. C. DODGE.

Honble A. C. Dodge
Senator of Iowa
Washington City D. C.

Fort Carroll
15 Dec. 1851.

Dear Sir:

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 12th Inst. in reference to the practicability of improving the navigation of the Mississippi river at the Des Moines and Rock River Rapids. You are aware that the Act of Congress under which I operated in the

years 1837 and 1838, confined the application of the App'n to the bed of the river. I therefore in my examinations did not look beyond it. At the Des Moines Rapids but two plans seemed worth considering. One was to build a continuous wall in the bed of the river, from the foot to the head of the Rapids, along the Iowa shore and at a sufficient distance to form with it, an ample canal for the passage of Steamboats, with a lock at each extremity.

The other, to improve the natural channel of the river, by opening a passage through the reefs that separated one basin from the other, and thus form a continuous channel through their whole extent.

The first if completed would be certain in its results, and afford a sure communication at low water through the Rapids. But of no advantage in an incomplete state; would cost much time and money, and had it been adopted, would to the present time, as experience now shows, been of no advantage.

The second I considered equally practicable; affording more speedy relief to the Commerce of the Country, which was labouring under the greatest disadvantages; and by operating at the worst passes first, would produce with the means then available, a general benefit which would be felt at mean stages of water, as well as at the lowest.

This plan was accordingly recommended.

Similar considerations influenced me in reference to the improvement of the Rock River Rapids.

I did not then think, nor had I any reason to apprehend afterwards, that the water above the Rapids would be sensibly diminished, if care was taken in opening the main channel, to stop up with the stone excavated the minor ones.

The effect would be to unite in one channel the water that flows through many, and which the two seasons that I was on the Rapids, even at the low stages of the river appeared ample for the purposes of navigation.

You can judge better than I can which system of improvement is better adapted to the present state of the country. Whether its Commerce and development can wait for the perfection of one, or would be more advanced by the progressive improvement of the other.

Believing it to be a question of great moment not only to the great country of the Upper Mississippi, but to the country at large, I have taken the liberty to give you the reasons that governed me in the matter; that in resuming the subject, you might examine it in its different bearings, and adopt that plan best calculated to promote its success.

With my earnest wishes that such may be the result of your efforts I remain very respt Your Obt. Servt.

R. E. Lee,
Bt. Col. Eng'rs.

XII.

ENOS LOWE TO GEORGE W. JONES, U. S. SENATE.

Enos Lowe, M. D., was born in Guilford, N. C., May 5, 1804; came to Indiana, where he was elected to the State legislature; removed to Burlington, Iowa, 1837, and was second postmaster of the town, then in Wisconsin Territory. He was a member of the First Constitutional Convention of Iowa, 1844, and of the Second, and its President, 1846. He was Receiver of the Land Office at Iowa City and Council Bluffs, and afterwards one of the founders of Omaha, Nebraska, where he died, Feb. 12, 1880. T. S. Parvin paid a just tribute to his life and character in *Iowa Historical Record*, VIII, 289-296.

Burlington, January 9th, 1853.

Esteemed Friend—

Carrying the mails on Sunday years ago troubled the consciences of some persons, and they petitioned Congress to pass a law to stop them on that day. These petitions were referred to a Committee, of which Col. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, was Chairman, who made a report adverse to the prayer of the petitioners. This report was unanswerable, and so satisfactory that the question has not been disturbed since. And so esteemed was this production by many acquaintances of mine, of undoubted piety, as to be considered worthy a place beside the Declaration of Independence in an ornamental frame. In short, I understand it to be the settled policy of the Government that the transmission of mail matter is not to be retarded on any day—that the transmission of intelligence to the people is to be facilitated, not delayed, and that the regulations of the post office should be in accordance with this design.

Notwithstanding we receive the Eastern mail at about 8 o'clock A. M., on Sundays, we are not permitted a sight at its contents until 4 o'clock P. M. under a petty rule of Fitz Henry Warren or somebody else, who delights in a display of his official power, thereby frustrating the object in a great degree of sending us the mail thus early.

When I was postmaster here under Amos Kendall, the rule governing the case of "mails arriving on Sunday" required the office to be kept open one hour after such mail was opened. This rule is in conformity with the rule and contract which brought us the mail on Sunday. But the present rule leaves us in almost as bad a condition as if the mail was detained in Illinois over Sunday. It matters not to us whether the mail is in this or some other office, if it is withheld from us. The P. Master should be required to open &

distribute the mail as soon as it arrives on Sundays as well as any other days, and to open the office as soon as it is done, and keep it open one hour.

Can this regulation be procured *now?*—if not, if there is virtue in a change of administration, may we not look for it soon after the 4th of March.

IOWA AND THE FIRST NOMINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By F. I. HERRIOTT,
Professor of Economics, Political and Social Science, Drake University.

1. First Expressions—1856-1857.

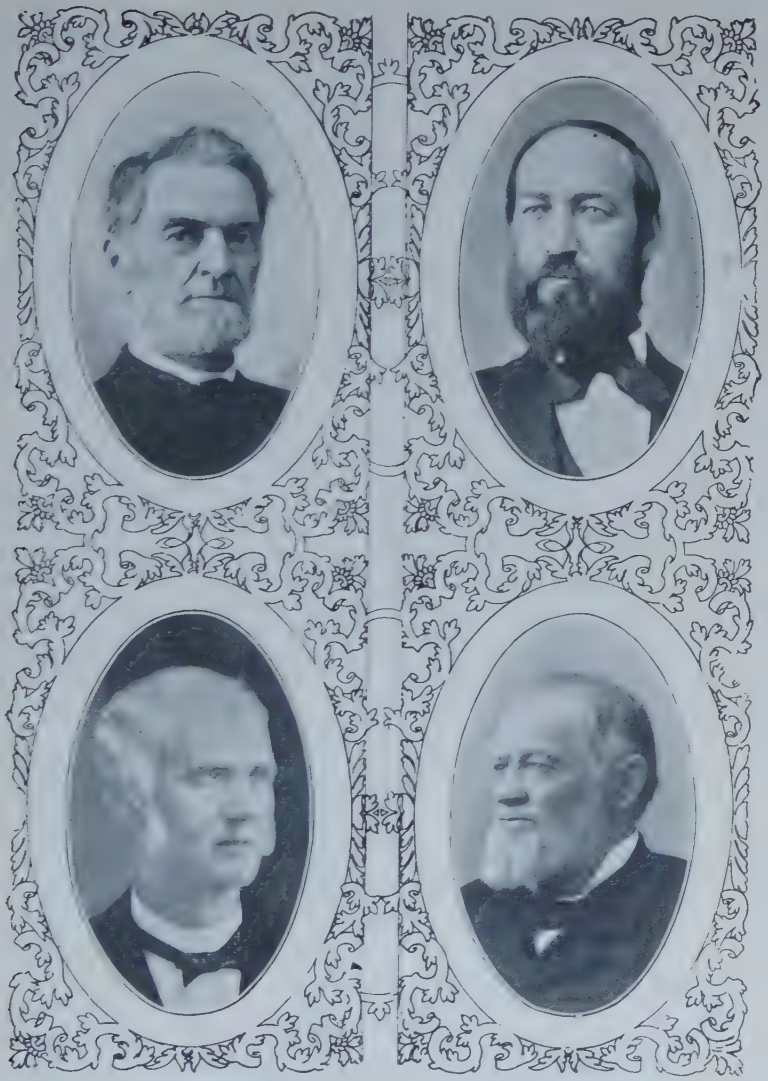
Forecasting the Presidential fates is an inveterate habit of Americans, particularly of editors and politicians. The quadrennial election is no sooner over than some venture upon predictions or suggestions as to candidates for the ensuing Presidential contest. The practice was vigorous in the fifties. The returns showing Buchanan's triumph in 1856 had hardly been certified before the *N. Y. Herald* ran up Fremont's name as the best candidate for the Republicans in 1860. It asserted that the opponents of the Slavocrats could "only hope" for success "under the name of Fremont;"[1] that his nomination would signify the popular overthrow of the oligarchical rule of politicians "who care for no earthly thing but the spoils;"[2] and after pointing out that he had excelled Jackson and Harrison in popularity it declared that "in every direction the Fremont papers are running up his name for 1860."[3]

After quoting his eastern contemporary Mr. J. B. Howell, Editor of *The Gate City* of Keokuk closed an editorial (November 11) with the prediction that the next president "will be John Charles Fremont! Look over the field calmly and considerately, and, answer, Why not?" On the same date Mr. John Mahin said in the *Muscatine Daily Journal:* "We would rather run his name to our mast head today for the

[1] *N. Y. Herald*, Nov. 8, 1856. 2. Ib., Nov. 9. 3. Ib., Nov. 12. Before 1860 the management of *The Herald* suffered a radical change, Seward and John Brown causing it to become a violent opponent of the Republican party.

SOME OF IOWA'S DELEGATES

Chicago Convention, May 16-18, 1860



REUBEN NOBLE
District Judge

WILLIAM SYMTH
U. S. Representative

WM. M. STONE
Governor of Iowa

JOSIAH B. GRINNELL
U. S. Representative

conflict of 1860 than that of any other man in America. Such we believe the sentiment of the Republican party everywhere." Just a week later Mr. C. C. Flint urged caution in the *Dubuque Daily Republican* under the suggestive caption "Let us Go to Work:"—"It is not wise to keep up the names of Presidential candidates for the next four years, with all the drill of a Presidential campaign. We say this without abating in the least the love and honor which we shall always bear to Colonel Fremont, and with the firm determination of supporting him for the Presidency in 1860. He is our man for that office and we know that we shall elect him then if he lives. But men die; times change, principles—the principles of Truth and Justice embodied in the Republican platform—they alone are permanent. What then, shall we do! Let us keep up our local organization." The writer was not certain whether he should let prudence or sentiment prevail. It was not strange perhaps for we are told that the Fremonters of St. Charles (now Charles City) felt their defeat so intensely that on November 27 they not only had their party pennants still flying but had the national ensign "dressed" in mourning and displayed at half-mast, and though defeated "seem to have lost none of their energy, none of their enthusiasm for their youthful leader."[1] Mr. Mahin, on the same day urged Republicans to direct their attention to the "organization:" "Such is the watchword everywhere." He then gives some sound advice that their recent defeat made very pertinent, namely, to conciliate the Fillmore vote by "as liberal policy towards the American party as fidelity to the fundamental principles of our creed will permit."

Specific discussion of candidates and issues for 1860 suffered a lull for several months. Discussion was stirred in the east when in June 1857 the Republicans of New Hampshire at their State Convention by resolution commended Fremont to the country for the Presidency in 1860. There were but few echoes in Iowa. Mr. Howell briefly noted the fact with the cautious observation: "It is too early yet to commit ourselves very decidedly. But if, when the proper time comes, the name of Fremont should prove most acceptable to the re-

[1] *St. Charles Intelligencer*, Nov. 27, 1856.

publican masses, we shall do battle for him with a right good will."[1] The State campaign that year, however, elicited a noteworthy expression from Mr. A. W. Hackley, editor of the *Dubuque Daily Tribune* (September 11, 1857): the immediate considerations in the local canvass provoked it but he clearly had ultimate developments in mind. Discussing "The Real Issue" his initial sentences were:

"The real issue now before the people is Slavery, and this will continue to be the all controlling issue until either Freedom or Slavery triumph. Two such antagonistic principles cannot long exist and both be struggling for mastery; one or the other must yield."

Mr. Hackley here stated forcefully the same thought that Abraham Lincoln ten months later put into more luminous phrase in his speech at Springfield (June 16) when he was chosen to contest the Senatorship with Stephen A. Douglas; and that Wm. H. Seward later expressed in his celebrated speech at Rochester (October 25) which Von Holst tells us had the effect of a "mighty clap of thunder."[2] Complete originality cannot be claimed for Mr. Hackley as the Richmond (Va.) *Enquirer* had in 1856 (May 6) clearly pointed out the inherent antagonism between Free Labor and Slavery.

A point may here be noticed in passing as it indicates the nature and range of general public interest in Abraham Lincoln in Iowa three years before his nomination. The Republicans of Iowa had good reason to regard their prospects in the Fall elections of 1857 with anxiety and their leaders looked here and there for assistance. Sometime in July or August Governor Grimes wrote Mr. Lincoln and tried to secure his promise to come over and speak one or more times during the campaign for the adoption of the new constitution. Mr. Lincoln was not unwilling to come but his court engagements, the Rock Island Bridge case in particular, prevented his giving more than a conditional promise. He agreed to speak at Davenport in case the court should require a personal examination of the physical conditions of the bridge at Rock Island, and

[1] *The Gate City*, July 20, 1857.
[2] *History*, Vol. VI, p. 265.

he asked Governor Grimes for data relative to the points in issue affecting the old and new constitutions. He was unable to fulfill his promise, but the fact that Governor Grimes, one of the keenest judges of political ability and popular speakers, should seek to secure the assistance of Lincoln in such a campaign indicates very clearly that the Illinois lawyer was then a man with an interstate reputation.[1]

In commenting upon an address of N. P. Banks before the American Institute in New York Mr. A. B. F. Hildreth in an eulogistic editorial comes very near putting him forward as a candidate but he merely recognizes his strong qualities and suggests that his remarkable achievements theretofore would not make his achievement of Presidential honors at all surprising.[2]

So far as I can discover the first clear cut expression of specific preference and advocacy of a candidate was made in northern central Iowa. In the issue of *The Hamilton Freeman* of December 10, Mr. Charles Aldrich placed at the head of his editorial column:—"For President, 1860—JOHN C. FREMONT," and immediately below "For United States Senator—James W. Grimes." The names appeared with little comment and no exhortation. In an editorial note of a few lines he says simply:—they are "two statesmen whom we ardently desire to see chosen. . . They are so thoroughly known and appreciated by the people of North Western Iowa, that we shall not today enter into any exposition of their merits—Believing them to be the men of all others whose eminent services are demanded by the exigencies of the times, we shall contribute our humble efforts to swell the tide of their success."

The conjunction of the two names was probably not without significance. Governor Grimes was then a national figure. As early as 1855 a Cleveland (O.) paper had suggested his nomination for Vice-President as a running mate for Salmon P. Chase.[3] Notwithstanding the hue and cry in northern Iowa for the selection of a Senator from the north half of the

[1] Salter's *Grimes*, p. 95.
[2] *The St. Charles Intelligencer*, Nov. 5, 1857.
[3] Salter's *Grimes*, p. 79.

State Mr. Aldrich urged Governor Grimes as one most fit to complete the party triumph begun in 1854. The announcement, however, has a more decided significance. Mr. Aldrich had but recently come from central western New York where he had been an influential factor in local and State politics as editor of *The Olean Journal*. He was there in the thick of the party contentions when Know-Nothingism and Temperance agitation were rampant, working the temporary defeat of his personal friend, Congressman, later Governor and Senator, Reuben E. Fenton. Being a New Yorker we should naturally anticipate that Mr. Aldrich would have been an enthusiastic advocate of his State's distinguished Senator for the Republican nomination for the Presidency. On the contrary we find neither advocacy nor so much as favorable reference to Mr. Seward. His reticence respecting the statesman of Auburn continued from 1857 up to the assembling of the convention in Chicago in 1860.

Following Mr. Aldrich a few days later Mr. Hackley at Dubuque noting the increased speculation of "politicians and wireworkers" and the action of the Republicans of New Hampshire respecting Fremont says that Fremont's name "is at the head of a number of country journals;" but he does not indicate whether in Iowa or not. Of possible candidates he says that N. P. Banks is "not unlikely to become one of the most prominent;" but "Wm. H. Seward is at the present time probably the strongest man in the party."[1]

2. *Coalition among the Opposition Discouraged.*

During 1858 the discussion of the Presidential succession almost ceased. When the excitement over the Lecompton constitution was at its height in Washington Charles Sumner wrote Theodore Parker "What is doing in Massachusetts? Is everybody asleep?" As one reads the newspapers of Iowa for 1858 the same query suggests itself—the absence of definite, vigorous interest, the lack of views and suggestions are noteworthy. Everybody seemed to be awaiting developments. Editors occasionally reprinted extracts of articles in eastern

[1] *Dubuque Daily Tribune*, Dec. 18, 1857.

papers that made favorable mention of a possible candidate or referred in favorable terms to some of their public utterances. Thus Mr. Mahin made note of the "powerful" letter of Edward Bates against Buchanan's administration;[1] and Mr. John Teesdale notwithstanding the criticism of Hale and others lauded Seward as a Hampden and a Burke for his speech of March 5 that "poured such an avalanche of burning truth" upon the Administration.[2] Mr. Mahin pronounced "sensible" the suggestion of the *Richmond Whig* that the Southerners would do well to "fraternize with and support Seward for the Presidency" rather than Douglas whom they denounced as "worse than Seward."[3] The *Crescent* of New Orleans in June declared that "Wm. H. Seward will be the next President if he lives and the Union lasts" and forthwith urged disruption as preferable. Mr. Howell reprints, but indicates no preference; he simply expresses defiance, observing—"if he is elected, or any other of the great republican leaders, all such fanatics as the Crescent . . . . will be driven like dogs to their kennels or hung by the wayside as a warning to traitors."[4] Mr. Aldrich kept Fremont's name at the head of his editorial page continuously until Nov. 5, 1858. He did not urge the consideration of Fremont editorially. He referred to him once. So far as I can learn he elicited no favorable echo from the party press of the State. He removed the name without comment and did not refer again to Fremont in his discussion of Presidential candidates. His purpose may have been, and probably was, purely strategical, namely, to develop public sentiment *pro* or *con*. If such was his purpose he certainly discovered that the sentiment was not *pro*.

One matter only seems to have educed any strong expressions during 1858. The violent break of Douglas with Buchanan and the southern leaders and his stout fight against the Lecompton constitution made a number of the Republican leaders in the east urge an alliance with him and the promo-

[1] *Muscatine Daily Journal*, March 17, 1858.
[2] *Tri-Weekly Citizen*, March 16, 1858.
[3] *The Muscatine Journal*, June 29, 1858.
[4] *The Gate City*, June 30, 1858.

tion of his leadership. Many expected and not a few advocated a new party organization that might comprehend all varieties of the opposition to the Administration especially the large body of Americans that had supported Fillmore. With Greeley of *The Tribune* favoring the former and Raymond of *The Times* suggesting the probability of if not promoting the latter a new order of things seemed immanent. The response in Iowa from the Republicans was not favorable.

Mr. Mahin while admiring Douglas' heroic opposition to the Administration and inclining to credit his course to sincere and patriotic motives nevertheless closed a judicial editorial with the following unequivocal language: "In whatever light we may regard him, we must still be forced to the conviction that he is unworthy of the confidence of the North until he arrays himself in sackcloth and ashes for his past political sins and by protracted service in the cause of freedom proves his faith by his works."[1] The proposal that a new political party be organized he gave short shrift: "It is idle to talk of any other party than the Republican to oppose the Administration. . . . The issue before the country is slavery or freedom . . . As Republicans we are not in favor of compromising . . . Our platform is broad enough for all the brave hearted freemen of the country to stand on. It needs no enlargement nor any additional planks."[2]

The scheme and schemers for the reconstruction or coalition of the opposition parties met with a scornful reception from *The Hamilton Freeman* (June 24). Mr. Aldrich's editorial on "The Reconstruction of Parties" presents the case with such vigor and gives so many points of the hostility to the plan that it is given at length. There is much in the phraseology and in the attitude of the writer towards compromise that we find later in the racy letters of Fitz Henry Warren to J. S. Pike and to Samuel Bowles of *The Springfield* (Mass.) *Republican* in the forepart of 1860 when a movement somewhat similar was vigorously promoted.

There seems to be a general movement, says Mr. Aldrich, on the part of the Fillmore wing of the American Party, aided and

[1] *The Muscatine Journal*, Dec. 29, 1857.
[2] Ib., May 29, 1858.

abetted by some of the more eccentric of the Republican press to reconstruct parties, meaning by this, a union of that faction with the Republican party upon the basis of a new organization, a new party with a new name, with a platform that shall discard the doctrines of the Republicans—that "Freedom is National and Slavery Sectional," and that shall also be silent in regard to the extension of slavery into the Territories—in short, a party bound together and cemented by the sole object of opposition to the present administration and a *division of the spoils.*

The game of Americanism has been played out, and these old fossils have been left "sticking out,"—they now desire part and parcel with the victorious republicans, but true to their instincts and antecedents they must bring the great triumphant and rapidly increasing Republican party down to their own level. They have the unblushing impudence and effrontery to ask us to give up the republican organization—to strike from our Platform ALL for which we have been contending—ALL that gives life or vitality to the party —ALL that makes us any more elevated than the Democratic party —to stultify ourselves—renounce our principles—give up our name and all for what? Why simply, to allow this miserable, lying, petrified squad of unadulterated old fogies, who traduced John C. Fremont in 1856—and elected Buchanan President—to come in and share in the spoils of victory that the Republicans are sure to win *without them*—and (can impudence go farther?) upon terms dictated by themselves and disgraceful to us!

If we are wrong in our conclusions—if the Fillmore men do not desire this surrender on the part of the Republicans—but are willing to adopt our principles—and are from principle anxious to aid in the overthrow of the present party in power why do they demand any surrender of names or principles on our part? We have as a party conscientiously opposed James Buchanan, from the day he was nominated—and all measures of his administration. If the Fillmore men had done the same—if they had cast their votes for the only man who stood the least chance of defeating Mr. Buchanan—instead of throwing them away upon Mr. Fillmore—a good, reliable, competent republican would have stood at the head of the government at this moment—safely guiding the ship of state over the shoals and rocks on which Mr. Buchanan has well nigh foundered it.

The Republican Party to-day are in the majority in every free State in the Union with the exception, perhaps, of California; and yet this little squad of antiquated politicians, who are unable to control half a dozen school districts in the United States, gravely ask the Republican[s] to reorganize their party on such a basis, as will admit them to share the spoils, without any surrender on their part. Our preference stands at the head of our columns, [viz. Fremont.]

Mr. Hildreth while not advocating a coalition recognized that the concurrent and conciliatory actions of various factional leaders of the Opposition in Congress in resisting the Lecompton frauds would doubtless lead to new party alignments favorable to Freedom and the Republican program. Noting the gathering interest in Presidential candidates and coalitions he said in the forepart of October: "The Presidential future begins to be discussed. The elements are various and curious. . . . As to the Republican party it is impossible to predict anything" He believed that the recent "patriotic votes" of the Republicans on the Crittenden-Montgomery bill in Congress, Corwin's national canvass in Ohio, Greeley's concessions to Popular sovereignty and the indisposition of the Republicans to insist on "no more slave states" would bring about a new alignment of national parties and hence the futility of predictions or the aggressive promotion of particular candidates.[1]

3. *The Lincoln—Douglas Debates.*

Biographers, historians and literateurs have exalted beyond all peradventure the Debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas in 1858 as the *causa causans* of Lincoln's later exaltation and the major fact that brought the people of the nation to their senses respecting the great issue in the quadrennium preceding the political revolution in 1860. More than this not a few would have us believe that the people were tremendously aroused and universally alert in their appreciation of the crucial character of the encounter. Thus one learned historian tells us that the debate "was followed by the whole people with strained attention."[2] This may have been so; but if so the people of Iowa were for the most part in the state of mind described by Sir Walter Scott's little friend—"more than usual calm."

An examination of some seventeen different papers published in ten different communities demonstrates that the public interest in the debates on this side of the Mississippi was

[1] *The St. Charles Intelligencer*, Oct. 7, 1858.
[2] Von Holst, *History*, Vol. VI, p. 287.

very various and curious withal. One or two editors only seem to have had a lively sense of the strategic importance of the contest but none apparently at the time perceived that anything besides Douglas' senatorial and perhaps his presidential chances hung in the balances. Most of those who manifest any interest at all exhibit but little beyond the common concern that is aroused by an interesting spectacle. Several of the influential papers, both Democratic and Republican, show practically no interest, scarcely noticing it either in editorial or in news column. As Douglas spoke at Galena and Rock Island, and Lincoln at Augusta and Carthage, and both met at Quincy all within hail and each separately crossed the river, visited and spoke at Burlington during the canvass the amount of attention to the progress of the debates was somewhat more in the eastern cities of Iowa than in the inland towns. A brief summary of the notes and comments is not inappropriate nor without value.

The columns of *The Gate City* contain nothing especially noteworthy. Lincoln's challenge and the virulent opposition of the Administration to Douglas are noted. Douglas' gross misrepresentation of Lincoln's connection with the "Abolition" conspiracy and platform in 1854 in the initial debate at Ottawa are branded by Mr. Howell as a "forgery." (Aug. 31.) The fatal answer of Douglas to the second Freeport question is noted (Sept. 17); an extract from Lincoln's Charleston speech relative to negro quality is given (Oct. 1). An excursion to Quincy ($1.50 round trip) is advertised and "several hundred" went down. The debate at this place is concisely related and the jubilation of the Republicans and the depression of the Democrats at the outcome are asserted (Oct. 15). When Lincoln was advertised to speak at Carthage all who desired "to hear one of the most celebrated" orators were advised to go (Oct. 20). But there is nothing whatever that signifies public interest that is abnormal; at most there is nothing more intense than is frequently witnessed in national and state campaigns.

In the latter weeks of the contest between the meetings at Galesburg and Quincy the people of Burlington were per-

mitted to hear Abraham Lincoln speak on the great questions in issue. Douglas had spoken in the city a short time before. The chairman of the Republican county committee, Mr. Charles Ben Darwin, one of the best lawyers of Burlington, knowing Lincoln's tactics of following close on Douglas' trail, invited him to favor the city with an address. As he was listed to speak in the afternoon of Oct. 9 at Oquawka he consented to stop over and speak in Burlington in the evening, in the open air if the weather would permit. The arrangement apparently was not announced before the morning of the 8th. A brief but effective notice of the speech and the speaker was published in *The Hawk-eye*. Referring to the debate at Galesburg, Editor Clark Dunham states: "Those we conversed with think Mr. Lincoln the ablest and most popular speaker they ever heard and say he had altogether the advantage of Douglas in the argument, even Douglas' friends acknowledging it." The notice closes with "Huzza for Lincoln." In the next morning's issue three separate notices are inserted, one, two and three line notices—one of which reads: "There will be a Grand Concert at the People's Garden this evening immediately after Mr. Lincoln's speech." Concerning "Abe Lincoln's Speech at Grimes Hall," Mr. Dunham remarks on Monday:

> Grimes' Hall was filled to its full capacity . . . So great is the sympathy felt here in the spirited canvass in Illinois, and so high is the opinion entertained of the ability of Mr. Lincoln as a speaker that a very short notice brought together from twelve to fifteen hundred ladies and gentlemen.
>
> High, however, as was the public expectation, and much as was anticipated, he, in his address of two hours, fully came up to the standard that had been erected. It was a logical discourse, replete with sound argument, clear, concise and vigorous, earnest, impassioned and eloquent. Those who heard recognized in him a man fully able to cope with the little giant anywhere, and altogether worthy to succeed him.
>
> We regret exceedingly that it is not in our power to report his speech in full this morning. We know that we could have rendered no more acceptable service to our readers. But it is not in our power.
>
> Mr. Lincoln appeared Saturday evening fresh and vigorous, there was nothing in his voice, manner or appearance to show the arduous

labors of the last two months—nothing to show that immense labors of the canvass had worn upon him in the least. In this respect he has altogether the advantage of Douglas, whose voice is cracked and husky, temper soured and general appearance denoting exhaustion.[1]

Several queries suggest themselves that are pertinent in determining the degree of public interest in Burlington regarding Lincoln at that time. Was the Grand Concert referred to one of the inducements to lure a crowd to hear him? If so much was expected of the speaker why, with two or three days' notice, was not *The Hawk-eye* prepared to give its readers a verbatim report of the speech? If the speech so greatly exceeded anticipation why was not the public not present given a detailed summary of the main points made by the noted speaker, so that the cause which Mr. Dunham favored no less could be promoted far beyond the circuit of that particular audience? The three hundred words or so devoted to the occasion and the man, while highly laudatory, do not demonstrate an abnormal or extremely acute public interest. I have found no reference in the contemporary press of the State to the fact that Burlington was favored with the presence of the two noted political gladiators during the progress of their celebrated canvass in 1858 and no one now-a-days, aside from old residents of Burlington is aware of the fact.[2]

So far as his pages indicate the editor of *The Journal* at Muscatine felt but little more than a languid interest in the forensic contest on the other side of the river. A short dispatch or extract from some account by another appears relative to most of the debates but there is no especial editorial

[1] *The Hawk-eye*, Oct. 11, 1858.

[2] The writer is indebted to Dr. William Salter, Iowa's venerable historian, to Mr. W. W. Baldwin, Tax Commissioner of the C., B. & Q. Ry., and to Miss Daisy N. Sabin, Librarian of the Free Public Library—all of Burlington for the data in the paragraphs above relative to Douglas and Lincoln's appearances in Burlington. Mr. Baldwin's letter of June 10, 1907, relates the following incident that strikingly illustrates the simplicity of manner and method of Judge Douglas' opponent, an eye-witness telling him the story.

When Mr. Lincoln arrived at the old Barrett House where he stopped while in Burlington he had in his hand a small package, wrapped in a newspaper. Handing it to the clerk at the desk he asked him to "Please take good care of that. It is my boiled shirt. I will need it this afternoon." It was his only "baggage".

As Mr. Baldwin remarks in a later letter the incident is interesting for the contrast it affords with the methods of far less important people, who can not go about without a valet or a retinue of servants.

mention. The space given seldom exceeds a "stickful." Mr. Mahin evidently went up to Rock Island where he heard Douglas; and he closes his summary of the speech with the interesting observation: "We venture to say that the majority of his audience went away with the conviction that Mr. Douglas was on the wrong side and knew it himself but feeling more sorrow than anger in the conviction." (Oct. 30.) The organ of the Democrats in that city although it devotes some space to Douglas' speeches in July gives the debates no consideration. It expresses great satisfaction when the returns gave Douglas the senatorship,[1] but there is no sign of recognition of the political revolution that was so greatly hurried forward by that now celebrated tournament.

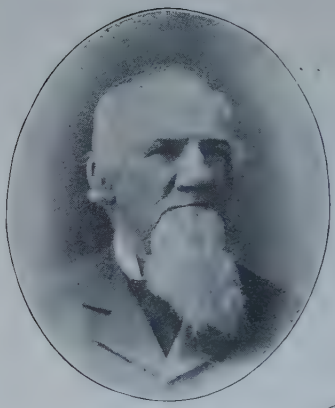
The liveliest interest in the Illinois contest is manifested perhaps in the *Davenport Daily Gazette*. Its editor, Mr. Add H. Sanders, realizes the national importance of the campaign. "Our sister state is in a gloriously excited condition . . . . Indeed with the elections approaching in many other states, the eyes of politicians everywhere appear to be turned most anxiously toward the election in Illinois. The reason is the coming election fixes the political destiny of Stephen A. Douglas, so far as any single event can accomplish that object. If defeated he will be politically dead. If successful it will give him higher hopes of attaining the great goal of his ambition, than he could have reasonably indulged during the last four years." (Sept. 3.) There is considerable space given to accounts of Douglas' triumphal journeys, to extracts from Lincoln's speeches, to comments upon the course of the discussion and to fraternal commiseration of the dire fratricidal dissention among the Douglas and Administration Democrats in Iowa.[2] At Dubuque, *The Express and Herald*, a Douglas organ, paid more or less attention to Douglas' campaign but seldom mentioned Lincoln and then only with contempt. It printed (Aug. 4) a Chicago dispatch that designates Lincoln as a cringing, fawning "Uriah Heap," when referring to his pres-

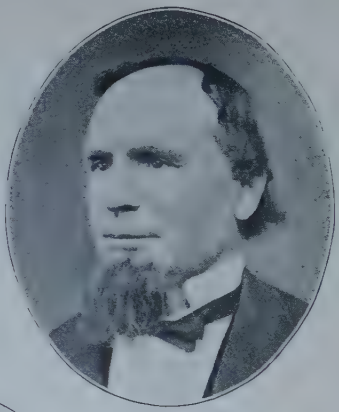
[1] *The Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (wk.), Nov. 11, 1858.

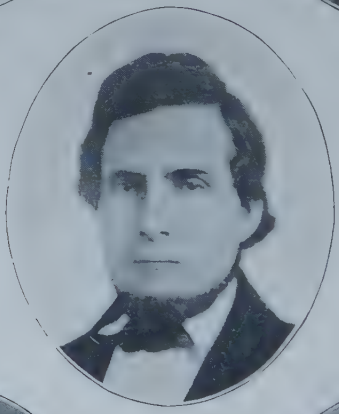
[2] The writer is under obligations to Mr. Otha Thomas of Valley Junction and to Mr. Harry E. Downer of Davenport for the above citations from the *Davenport Daily Gazette*.

SOME OF IOWA'S DELEGATES

Chicago Convention. May 16-18, 1860







J. C. WALKER
Physician

JOHN SHANE
District Judge

THOMAS SEELEY
Farmer

GEO. A. HAWLEY
Lawyer

A. F. BROWN
Lawyer

ence at the Douglas meeting in Chicago, July 9; and sneers at "That rank Abolitionist Lincoln" who dares to presume to seek the place of the "Little Giant," who it declares, is "the greatest man in the American Senate." Aug. 25.) At the Galena meeting Mayor Hetherington of Dubuque was one of the notables who escorted Douglas to the platform. (Aug. 26.)

Going inland we find much less interest in the debates so far as the pages of newspapers afford evidence thereof, although there were at least two instances of marked appreciation of their importance. The *Ottumwa Courier* reprints Lincoln's entire speech at Chicago, July 10th—seven solid columns—and Mr. J. W. Norris observed editorially (Aug. 12): "The indications are that it will be the most exciting canvass that we have ever had in this country." Mr. Norris immediately thereafter went east and nothing further is found in his columns about the contest in Illinois. Mr. A. J. Dowling, editor of the *Montezuma Weekly Republican*, has frequent notes and comments upon the debate but none that indicate extraordinary interest.

At Vinton, the editor of *The Eagle*, Mr. Thomas Drummond, indicates a keen appreciation of the contest in Illinois. Lincoln's great Springfield speech he reprinted almost entire (Aug. 21). He makes the following observations upon the character and significance of the senatorial contest (Oct. 23):

> The political contest now waging in Illinois in the earnestness, zeal, and even bitterness with which it is conducted by all parties exceeds anything of the kind ever before known in that state or perhaps in the Union. Even the memorable campaign of '40 sinks below it for intensity and enthusiasm. Men now think of nothing else—the struggle is for life or death. Upon the result in Illinois this year depends the Presidency in 1860. If Douglas is beaten now for the Senate he is beaten forever and consigned to political oblivion. If he is successful he will be the acknowledged chief of the whole Democratic Party, hold Buchanan at his mercy and without doubt receive the nomination of the Charleston convention.

Mr. Drummond thought that Lincoln would triumph over Douglas, although he perceived that an unjust apportionment might give the legislative majority to the latter. In his comments upon the victory of Douglas Mr. Drummond says that Lincoln's defeat was due to two causes: first, the adverse

apportionment and, second, the attitude of the eastern press, saying scarcely a word in condemnation of Douglas and dubiously commending the Republicans of Illinois who had to bear the brunt of the bitter fight. Mr. Drummond, while he watched the debates with keen zest, says nothing about Lincoln that indicates that he perceived his remarkable ability and achievements and he makes no mention of the Freeport questions.[1]

At Indianola, was the *Weekly Visitor*, an "Independent" in policy, whose editor, Mr. James H. Knox, had strong anti-slavery extension views, but one can find no mention of the debates. The same is true of the two Democratic papers published at the State capital. Neither the *Iowa State Journal* nor the *Iowa Statesman* demonstrate even ordinary interest in the debates; after the decision, the latter observes (Nov. 11): "We have one gratification in the recent elections which covers up a multitude of misfortunes. DOUGLAS IS SAFE! The struggle has been a political Waterloo, with this difference—the 'man of destiny' is victorious over the allied powers." The columns of both papers are filled with discussions of new railroad projects, agricultural meetings, court house controversy, Des Moines River lands, Taxes, and "Gold! Gold!" [Pike's Peak]. Such prosaic affairs chiefly engaged the interests of their readers.

North and east of Des Moines the indifference of the press, and of course, the people was equally noteworthy. The *Boone County News* (Oct. 1) gives a column to the debate and the week following quotes from Lincoln's tribute to the Declaration of Independence; the *Hamilton Freeman* makes no direct reference to the contest; the *St. Charles Intelligencer* says nothing editorially but prints two letters from a correspondent in Illinois (Oct. 7, 14), who recounts some incidents of the debate. The *Quasqueton Guardian*[2] takes no notice of the contest. If anything more than another demonstrates that many of the preceptors of the great party of high moral ideas were "more than usual calm" anent the great debate

[1] The writer is indebted to Rev. A. B. Elliott of Vinton for the above excerpt and other data from *The Eagle*.

[2] Later *The Independence Guardian*.

it is the fact that the editors of the first and third papers last mentioned, Messrs. Aldrich and Rich, both fine types of the efficient Yankee character, gave their columns to recital of the details of the Morrissey-Heenan Prize Fight in Canada while virtually ignoring the momentous encounter of principles and wits near their own doors,—a fight of the fates in very fact.[1]

But were the Iowans different from their compatriots in the older States to the east? Not appreciably. The *New York Herald* mentions the debate infrequently and always refers both to it and the disputants with scorn and contempt. It is a "Senatorial Prize Fight." Douglas' recreancy and disastrous course constitute the burden of its references. The seismic effect of his answer to the Freeport questions is realized; but Lincoln is ignored. The files of Greeley's *Daily Tribune* have not been available but the columns of the semi-weekly are perhaps not less instructive. The speeches of Lincoln and Douglas in June and July are reprinted, but the speeches delivered at the first debate at Ottawa are alone reproduced. Three editorials (Aug. 27, Sept. 24, Nov. 9) discussed the struggle in Illinois but Douglas is the man chiefly, almost wholly in mind; the last deals with his "signal triumph," Lincoln being ignored. There is no comment on the Freeport questions and answers. On October 22d the entire front page (six broad columns) of Mr. Greeley's great journal was given over to a minute description of the Morrissey-Heenan Prize Fight and at the bottom we read "(See Eighth Page)" As much news space, lacking two columns, was given over to the fistic bout of those two bruisers as to the now famous combat of statesmen pronounced by *The Tribune* itself to be "two eminent masters of the art of intellectual attack and defense."[2] The many thousands of Greeley's readers in Iowa received either the semi-weekly or the weekly issue. Wm. Lloyd Garrison's paper, *The Liber-*

[1] *Hamilton Freeman*, Nov. 12 and *The Guardian*, Nov. 11, 1858. Not long before his death, in response to the writer's inquiry concerning the matter, Mr. Aldrich said, with the glint of a smile in his eyes: "Well, sir, the fact is that in some respects we editors in those days were not much better than they are now-a-days."

[2] *N. Y. Tribune*, (S. W.), Aug. 27, 1858.

ator, does not notice the debates except to quote Douglas' reply to Lincoln respecting the Dred Scott decision.[1] New York's "Journal of Civilization" *Harper's Weekly,* makes no mention of the debates during their occurrence but it does give us an extended account of the pugilistic bout (three columns or more), and its first and leading editorial discusses "The Great Prize Fight." Its columns on "Domestic Intelligence" during all of those months were filled with such items of news as we found in the press of Iowa, such as the doings of the Mormans, Gold discoveries, etc.[2]

The fact is our chroniclers and eulogists are likely to suffer from *ex post facto* obviousness in dealing with the career of Abraham Lincoln. A people, like persons, seldom realize the significance or anticipate the consequences of current events. They appreciate their sensations but not their sense and sequences. The people generally in 1858 only realized that an interesting spectacle was taking place in Illinois at the end of which one or the other contestant would be a national senator and in the case of one increased prestige would enhance his strength as a Presidential aspirant. There were but few discerning ones who saw that it would split assunder a great national party and bring about new alignments and a new national leader. These results gradually dawned upon the public consciousness.

Neither the Republicans nor the people of Iowa were oblivious of the pith and point of the discussions in Illinois. The

[1] *The Liberator,* Oct. 15, 1858.

[2] *Harper's Weekly,* Oct. 30, 1858. It is but fair to state that *Harper's Weekly,* prior to the debates, did recognize the great importance of the contest in Illinois, although it signified no interest whatever in the developments and results of the debates. On July 31 in an editorial written before they were under way, entitled "The Canvass in Illinois" the writer asserts: "There can be no question but the pending canvass in Illinois is one of the most memorable contests which ever took place in the political history of the United States." After succinctly outlining the positions of the three parties in interest he closes with the words: "As such, the canvass is worthy of the closest attention."

It is a curious commentary upon the foregoing that the only signs whereby the editors manifest their interest in that memorable canvass are by two meagre items relative to Douglas, namely: one, Oct. 16, an excerpt from Douglas' account of his birth "away down in Yankee land"; and the other, Nov. 6, Vice President Breckenridge's letter favoring his re-election to the Senate. From neither, however, could one infer that an epoch making discussion had created new political conditions in our national party strife.

large crowds that went from Iowa to attend the debates at Freeport, Galesburg and Quincy, to hear Douglas at Galena and Rock Island and Lincoln at Augusta and Carthage, not a few going from towns 20 and 40 miles west of the river as Fairfield, Mt. Pleasant and Keosauqua, indicate a keen popular interest. Some of the Republican politicians speedily discerned the practical usefulness of the points scored in Illinois and pressed them home upon their opponents in their bouts on the hustings. Thus at Vinton, Aug. 9, the editor of *The Eagle,* Mr. Thomas Drummond, harried Judge W. E. Leffingwell, the Democratic candidate for Congress, with "a series of questions which had been first propounded to Judge Douglas at Bloomington to which Mr. Drummond added several of his own."[1]

The effect of the debates upon opinion regarding the Presidential succession, while ultimately very important, was but vaguely apparent during their progress and immediately following. General Cyrus Bussey, a Marylander by stock, was then a resident of Bloomfield in Davis county. He was an admirer and staunch supporter of Stephen A. Douglas and followed the debates in Illinois with lively interest. He informs me that generally throughout southeastern Iowa the Democrats, while they scoffed at Lincoln for his temerity in venturing to break lances with the "Little Giant," and tried to make themselves believe that he was some sort of a cross between a buffoon and a monster, "half-horse-and-half-alligator" who advocated Amalgamation and "Equality with the nigger" nevertheless felt "in their bones" that the Sangamon lawyer got the better of their doughty champion. They felt, too, that notwithstanding Douglas' nominal success his opponent emerged from the contest the larger man, both intellectually and morally and they were conscious of the fact that if Douglas was of Presidential size then Lincoln must be likewise and the later suggestion of Lincoln for the Presidency did not seem illogical or strange, although as a matter of

[1] *Dubuque Express and Herald,* Aug. 17, 1858—Editorial Correspondence from Vinton. Mr, Drummond's interrogatories are set out at length in *The Eagle,* Aug. 7, 1858.

political form they "hooted" at the Rail-Splitter as a fit man for the highest office in the land.[1]

Two of Iowa's leading lawyers heard the two champions in debate and were so much impressed by the intellectual prowess of Lincoln that they instinctively felt that he was a man of Presidential proportions and so expressed themselves at the time. Mr. Austin Adams of Dubuque, later Chief Justice of Iowa, attended the debate at Freeport and he is quoted as saying: "I have just heard the greatest man I ever listened to; he ought to be President."[2] Mr. Henry Strong, then one of the rising young lawyers of Keokuk,[3] heard the debaters in September. He wrote his college classmate, Manton Marble, then associate editor of *The Boston Journal:* "I have just heard the next President of the United States—mark my prediction, Manton." He writes me that the substance of his letter was published by his friend.[4]

The discussion of Presidential possibilities came on apace in the latter months of 1858. The effect of the debates in Illinois and of the "mighty clap of thunder" resulting from Seward's speech at Rochester are manifest. As was the case two years before *The New York Herald* lead off; but a new name was on its pennant. Douglas' answers at Freeport produced an upset; on September 15 it averred that by them he had "proclaimed himself an advocate of the higher law doctrine." On the 23d it declared the nomination of Winfield Scott, "a necessity for the Opposition." A week later it appeals to the Opposition not to imitate the Democrats and "go off in petty squads under the lead of Seward, Crittenden, Banks and fifty others . . . Scott or annihilation is their only choice." Its insistence upon the hero of Lundy Lane was earnest indeed.[5] Seward's Rochester speech, however, produced such a violent shock to the *Herald's* sensibilities

[1] Interview with the writer, October 8, 1907.

[2] Gue, *History of Iowa*, Vol. IV, p. 2. Mr. Gue, or the author of the biographical sketch from which the above is taken, states that Mr. Adams heard Lincoln and Douglas at Galena; Freeport must have been intended.

[3] Mr. Strong's law partner in those days was Mr. John W. Noble, afterward Secretary of the Interior in President Harrison's cabinet.

[4] Letter (MSS.) to the writer, June 4, 1907.

[5] *N. Y. Herald*, Oct. 11, 13, 15, 19, 1858.

that it entirely forgot General Scott and thenceforth devoted itself to denunciation of what for nearly two years it branded as Seward's "brutal and bloody" programme.[1]

Meanwhile the Republican press of Iowa was exceedingly unconcerned. I have not discovered a single reference to the *Herald's* advocacy of Scott for the Presidency. Seward's speech is "eloquent and truthful," according to Mr. Mahin:[2] in Mr. Aldrich's judgment "it is a great speech" and he reprints it in seven and a half solid columns.[3] None of the Republicans view the sentiments of Seward with alarm. The doctrine he enunciated apparently did not seem revolutionary.

There are but few signs of direct interest in the prospective Presidential nomination. On Nov. 11th Mr. Mahin has a three line editorial note, stating, "*The New York Courier and Enquirer* proposes Mr. Seward for the Republican candidate for the Presidency of 1860." He makes no comment, however. A week later he notices the zealous contention of the *New York Herald*, that "so far as the results of the late election from having improved the chances of either Seward or Douglas for the Presidency, that the great Agitator and the 'Little Giant' have thus been farther removed from the goal of their ambition than ever they were before." The design of the editor in such notes and comments, if other than recording items of passing interest, is not manifest.

Both desire and opinion respecting the Presidency among the Republicans of Iowa at the close of 1858, it is clear, were incoherent, indefinite, vague. The consideration of candidates was not deemed urgent or wise because premature. The situation had become more definite, however. A figure was looming large in the political horizon. The entire country was becoming conscious of his remarkable strength and proportions and commanding influence. The political leaders for some time had had to reckon with Abraham Lincoln. The papers of the east no less than those of the west had ex-

[1] Ib. Oct. 30.
[2] *The Muscatine Journal*, Nov. 4, 1858.
[3] *The Hamilton Freeman*, Nov. 12, 1858.

tensively reported his speeches and quoted his pithy sayings. The votes he had received in 1856 for the nomination for the Vice-Presidency signified a much wider and more decided political acquaintance with Lincoln than most of our chroniclers have realized. Speaking at Litchfield, Maine, Mr. James G. Blaine, on June 28, 1856, referred to Lincoln's "reputation beyond the lines of his own state" gained by his acute discussions of Douglas' course in securing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.[1] Before the celebrated debates were arranged for Greeley said of the Springfield speech, which he printed entire in the *Tribune* (June 24); "We need not ask attention to this concise and admirable statement. Mr. Lincoln never fails to make a good speech if he makes any and this is one of his best efforts." Such language is not used of "an unknown." In July that year the Chicago editors were surprised to find the eastern press discussing and quoting his speeches.[2] One finds that the editors of Iowa were likewise alive to the marked attention paid to Lincoln in the press of the eastern States. *The Gate City* (Aug. 30) cites the *Louisville Journal*, "the leading American paper of the country" which expresses admiration of Lincoln's "superior talents and noble nature" and bespeaks for him success; and also the St. Louis *Evening News*, "the leading American organ of Missouri" that endorses the sentiments of the *Journal*. *The Hawk-eye* (Oct. 8) reprints a letter written from Illinois to the Rochester (N. Y.) *Democrat*, recounting the striking differences in the speeches of Lincoln and Douglas to the advantage of the former. After the result of the election in Illinois was known and it was realized that by reason of an unfair apportionment Lincoln fell short of official success but won popular success one encounters frequent laudatory references to Douglas' opponent. Thus *The Gate City* quotes (Nov. 22) the Rochester *Democrat:* "Mr. Lincoln has won a reputation as a statesman and orator which eclipses that of Douglas as the sun does the twinklers of the sky. The speeches made during the Illinois campaign have

[1] Blaine, *Political Discussions*, p. 4.
[2] Nicolay & Hay—*Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. II, p. 176.

been read with great interest throughout the country . . . " On Nov. 30 Mr. Howell gives his readers the great Greeley's opinion of Lincoln's speeches: ". . . they were of a very high order—they were pungent without bitterness, powerful without harshness. The address at Springfield in which he opened the canvass is a model of compactness, lucidity and logic. As a condensed statement of the issues which divide the Republicans from the Democrats of our day, it has rarely, or never been exceeded." This high praise, it must be remembered, came from no willing witness—Greeley had strongly opposed the Republican opposition to Douglas.

In the south meantime expressions much more significant were being made. The southern press and leaders were outspoken in their sentiments hostile to Douglas whose position at Freeport had shown the fatal weakness of their much prized doctrine of Popular Sovereignty. The intellectual acumen of his antagonist who had so succesfully forced its doughty champion to make his fatal admission was of necessity felt if not always formally recognized. Such recognition was constantly manifested by their joint condemnation, and the Iowa press was not unmindful of its significance. Thus Mr. Howell quotes (Nov. 27) from Jefferson Davis' speech to his constituents in Mississippi, when he said that he "considered Mr. Douglas' opinions as objectionable as those of his adversary, Mr. Lincoln."[1] Douglas himself continued to force the public to recognize the pre-eminent abilities of his great antagonist. He started upon his southern tour which he planned with a view to placating the hostile friends of the Administration in the south. His speeches at Memphis and New Orleans were little less than earnest pleas in mitigation of the Freeport answers and Lincoln was referred to directly by

[1] See *The Gate City*, Nov. 29, 1858—Editorial on *Senator Douglas in the South*

The Muscatine Journal on June 4 quoted the following from the *Montgomery* (Ala.) *Mail* of May 21 relative to the reception of Douglas in that city:

"The Squatter Giant—S. A. Douglas, the great advocate of Squatter Sovereignty, arrived here yesterday, in the eastern train, and went down in the steamer in the afternoon. A few persons hunted him up to take a look at him as they would a grizzly bear, but there was no welcome. Why should there be, of the great assassin of the South?"

him in those discourses. But a more decided, not to say dramatic, appreciation of the tremendous damage done the Democratic party and the Slavocracy by the Illinois lawyer was the summary deposition at the opening of Congress of Stephen A. Douglas from the chairmanship of the Senate committee on Territories, a position he had held for eleven years and which he had made famous or infamous in their service in connection with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. All these things were noted in Iowa as elsewhere and the people no less than the politicians were becoming aware that Illinois had a dominating man—dominant because he possessed not only a profound, far-seeing mind, but wonderful powers of compelling speech. King makers could ask for no more favorable conditions than those which confronted the friends and admirers of Abraham Lincoln at the close of 1858.

Do We Need a Railroad?—This question is asked by a correspondent of *The Citizen*. Every man, woman and child in Central Iowa will promptly answer yes. We not only *need* a railroad, but should have one as soon as possible. It is true that the late commercial revulsion has operated disastrously upon railroads, but still there are means at our command and advantages possessed, which if properly and promptly applied would in a short time have thousands of laborers at work in building a railroad through Central Iowa. This will not be done, however, until the *people* move in the matter. Action, talk and agitation is needed. Let us have another excitement—let the subject of Railroads be agitated in every county, city and town—let meetings be held, the people aroused and their attention called to the vital importance of a Railroad. *Tri-Weekly Iowa State Journal*, March 1, 1858.

Stone-work disclosed in Boone mound, from a point fifteen feet above. The fourteen-foot rod lies due north and south, the target to the north.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

" * * When he [Mr. Aldrich] closed his desk, for the last time, there were within it manuscripts * * * some editorials and much material undeveloped or in outline. * * * It will be the purpose of the writer, who has been appointed Acting Curator * * * to continue the form of the journal identical with that preceding the death of Mr. Aldrich, and make use of such material * * *. If any deviation shall be made it will be in the number closing the volume [which may] include all * * * communications * * * incident to Mr. Aldrich's death.*

EDGAR R. HARLAN."

(Annals of Iowa, Third Series, Vol. 8, P. 385.)

BOONE MOUND EXPLORATION.

For a score of years a large mound near the Des Moines river, almost directly west of Boone, Boone county, Iowa, had attracted many interested in Iowa archaeology. It was first called to the attention of the late Charles Aldrich by Mr. Carl Fritz Henning of Boone. Mr. Aldrich, upon careful examination, approved the opinion that it was of prehistoric origin. He had done some considerable mound exploring during the latter years of his activities in Hamilton and Boone counties and from the size and locality of the one in question determined it was worthy the attention of public authorities. Consequently he referred the matter to the Board of Trustees of the Historical Department of Iowa. He was authorized to secure permission to explore, and to thoroughly explore it.

During the spring of 1907 Mr. T. Van Hyning, in charge of the Department Museum, submitted to Mr. Aldrich plans which the latter approved for the work. Arrangements were made to proceed under Mr. Aldrich's personal oversight, when notice was served on all concerned that in the mound was the unmarked grave of Oliver Perry Coffer, who was there interred about 1850. The advancing crop season, the failing health of Mr. Aldrich, and these objections, combined to defer the work for a year. In April, 1908, the Department secured per-

mission and transferred the remains of Mr. Coffer to the Mineral Ridge cemetery in Boone county and began the work of exploration.

The mound was oval in form, 90 by 110 feet in extreme dimensions, and 14 feet high. Mr. Karl Kastberg, city engineer of Boone, made a careful survey of the mound and locality, and prepared working plans. It was laid off in horizontal sections five feet square, and perpendicular sections one by five feet. The dirt was removed by beginning at the northerly side and shoveling a row of sections out upon the surface. The dirt of the second row of sections was in the same manner shoveled out into the space from which the first was thrown, and so on throughout the work.

From a datum point maintained throughout the work, each object disclosed was located on the plans. After the work was done the so-called "stone work" was topographically surveyed as the mound had been before it was disturbed.

Before the settlement of the country there were heavy forests of elm, hard maple and oak throughout the region of the mound. At the time of its exploration there were two oak trees and one elm standing near the top, each of twenty-four inches diameter. Three feet of the surface of the mound was soft, sandy loam. Five feet was very compact but of the same character otherwise as the first three. Its hardness was such as to suggest its having been baked together. Beneath the compact stratum the dirt was soft to the foundation of the mound. There were found on every level and practically in equal distribution throughout the mound pottery fragments, but no complete vessel or other such object. These fragments, 4,000 in number, seem to be tempered with disintegrated granite. They indicate burning on their convex sides. They show ornamentations in more than thirty patterns. At least one fragment of the rim of a vessel shows finger prints evidently made in the plastic state and preserved through the burning. Many, if from circular vessels, show the diameters of these to have been over three feet. Clam-shells in thin sheets, small heaps and singly occurred generally throughout, and especially numerous near the bottom. These are of species extant in the

river nearby. Some of these have adhering a very hard cementum. At different places and levels occurred single bones of human beings. All were fragmentary, having the appearance of having been gnawed by rodents. Four or five separate skulls, and other bones, probably from as many bodies, were found near the bottom. Only three or four implements were found and these were of flint. They were not together and had no apparent relation to other objects. A floor of irregular outline, some twenty-one by twenty-six feet in extreme dimensions, rested on a dirt stratum about fourteen inches thick. It was made of flat stones fitted closely and evenly, of a thickness of two to four inches. Ash heaps of a foot in diameter occurred frequently between the encrusted stratum and the stone work.

An irregular parallelogram of edgewise stones rested on this floor. These formed practically an unbroken wall twenty to twenty-four inches high. The enclosure was some ten by sixteen feet, and in each of the four angles were enclosures or small parallelograms about two by four feet in size. The longer walls of both the large and small enclosures ran nearly due north and south. Within the smaller enclosures were found most of the bones, including the only complete skull that was discovered. On a level with the upper portions of the edgewise stones and near the east and west sides of the parallelogram there were two decayed oak timbers running the entire length of the stone work. At right angles with these ran timbers of the same character three in number, which appeared to lie above those first mentioned. On a slightly higher level, and in the same general plane, were granite boulders six to twelve inches in diameter, in rows extending nearly due east and west. These boulders were left undisturbed until after the floor was cleaned off when the whole was surveyed and photographed. Boulders of the character found occur on the surface of the bluffs half a mile away, while the flat stones do not now crop out nearer than three-fourths of a mile north.

A detailed report of the work will be prepared by Mr. Van Hyning.

MARKING CHANGE IN METHODS OF TRANSMISSION

Discussing industrial conditions President Roosevelt in an address at Cincinnati, September 20, 1902, stated the remarkable fact that here a century ago news was transmitted and merchandise carried exactly as in the days of the Roman Empire. We had on our rivers the flatboat and on the ocean the sailing-ship, we had the pack-train and we had the wagon. "Every one of the four was known when Babylon fell." The change in the last one hundred years has been greater by far than the changes in all the preceding three thousand years. Applied to Iowa, our life was well established before a different method from these four materially affected us. The Black Hawk purchase was populated, its surface made habitable, its commerce established, its township, county and territorial government fixed under the Babylonish era of transmission and transportation. The State of Iowa, then, is coincident with a new and most wonderful era of methods for interchange of intellectual and physical properties. In this fact is the basis of much controversy in every field of American life. Litigation, legislation, and commerce in Iowa are most concerned now with conditions that were merely dawning when our present constitution was adopted in 1857.

Conceiving that the last of the old tavern days and the first of the Pullman car epoch are but just out of memory of the present generation, the Historical Department joined a scheme of the Iowa Railway Club in promoting at Des Moines in May last a reunion of "Old time railway men." The Department's share in the enterprise was merely to invite the accumulation of objects and materials touching the handling of information and traffic in the active period of the lives of these men. Such objects were assembled in the Department museum and contributed much to the interest of the occasion. Most of the exhibit passed permanently into the collections of the Department.

The plan was of value both for the objects acquired and for disclosing those apparently not now obtainable. For instance, the telegraph instrument in universal use by the first

Iowa trunk lines and telegraph companies, which wrote out its messages on tapes in the Morse dot and dash alphabet seems to have completely vanished, and no old timer was able to provide one for the exhibit. But there was assembled a most interesting and instructive documentary collection illustrative of the operating methods of the first railroad days in Iowa. General rules, train orders, schedules, freight books, hat checks, photographs and personal letters disclosed the establishment and development of method not before known in the handling of men out of military life. There were assembled also the predecessors of the present day time-table in some numbers. These are the pocket "traveler's guides" common in the stage coach and steamboat days. They are folding maps by Colton, by Mitchell and others, usually containing tables of distances, charges, census items, land laws and similar data. Many valuable cuts and illustrations designed to fire the public desire to travel, such as Centennial Exposition literature, Rocky Mountain travel enticements and western homestead and other land inducements. The acquisition was made of one of the old "prairie schooners" whose handwrought timbers and iron members bore its great burdens over the National Road from Wheeling west in 1820 and until routed out by the railroads. Then it came to Iowa and other portions of the west until deposed from business on the Sante Fe Trail by its everlasting competitor. It left its legitimate character in Oklahoma to return to Iowa as a curiosity in the parade of a medicine show and when by that enterprise abandoned was brought in from the weather to remain in the collections. It will have part in the Iowa State Fair exhibitions as an object of instruction to the mechanic and industrial student of Iowa, having within the memory of Iowa pioneers become quite as unknown to the youth of the State as the Spanish galleon or Ohio keel-boat. The Department recognizes, and expects to provide as best it may, the materials from which may be studied that portion of our history which has for a half century been and will for the future be, more largely than ever before, made by men not alone in the lines of statecraft or in war; that part wherein

a people's course is being affected and perhaps directed by new conditions, not to say a new force, comparable with any of the old.

IOWA SENATORIAL SUCCESSION.

When the federal constitution was adopted, Article I, Section 3, clause 2, provided that the United States Senators should be divided into three classes, the first to serve for a period of two years; the second, for a period of four years and the third for a period of six years, thus providing for a continuity of that body. When Iowa was admitted into the Union her two United States Senators, George W. Jones of Dubuque and Augustus C. Dodge of Burlington fell, respectively, into classes two and three. They began their service in the Senate on the same day, December 7, 1848. Jones was 44 years of age and Dodge was 32. Succeeding Jones, James W. Grimes of Burington was installed, March 4, 1859, at 42, being re-elected and re-installed March 4, 1865, resigning his office December 6, 1869. Mr. Grimes was succeeded by James B. Howell, of Keokuk, at 53 years of age, who was installed January 18, 1870, and retired at the end of Mr. Grimes' second term, March 3, 1871. Mr. Howell was succeeded by George G. Wright, of Des Moines, at 51 years of age, on March 4, 1871, who served one term, retiring March 3, 1877. Mr. Wright was succeeded by Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa City, at 63, March 4, 1877, who resigned March 7, 1881, James W. McDill of Creston, at 46, succeeding him March 8, 1881, being appointed by Governor Gear, and serving out the Kirkwood term, retiring March 3, 1883. James F. Wilson of Fairfield, at 54, was installed March 4, 1883, and served continuously until March 3, 1895, being succeeded by John H. Gear of Burlington, at 69, March 4, 1895. Mr. Gear died on July 14, 1900, and Jonathan P. Dolliver of Fort Dodge, after appointment by Governor Shaw, was installed August 22, 1900, at 42 years of age, serving to the end of Gear's term March 3, 1901, and, by election, until the present time, the term ending March 3, 1913.

The term of Augustus C. Dodge ended March 3, 1855, when James Harlan of Mount Pleasant was installed, at the age of 34, March 4, 1855, and served until January 12, 1857, when his seat was declared vacant by a resolution of the Senate. On January 17, 1857, he was re-elected and installed, serving out the term to March 3, 1861, then by re-election, he served from March 4, 1861, to May 15, 1865, when he resigned to enter the cabinet of Andrew Johnson, having been recommended and confirmed before the death of Abraham Lincoln. Samuel J. Kirkwood on January 13, 1866, was elected, at the age of 52, and served to the end of the term, March 3, 1867. James Harlan after election was again installed March 4, 1867, serving until March 3, 1873, when he retired being succeeded by William B. Allison of Dubuque, March 4, 1873, at the age of 44, who has served continuously since that day, and has been nominated for the term ending 1915.

RECENT PORTRAIT ACQUISITIONS.

The collection of portraits in oil now in the Historical Department Galleries has been recently augmented by two which were publicly installed June 20th. These both represent a phase of interest in the collections awakened by Mr. Aldrich, but which he did not live to see bear fruit. His oft repeated purpose was to acquire good portraits of representative Iowa citizens and of men representative of classes or of movements that aided the development of the State and its institutions. He desired to obtain good art objects of every kind including portraits and not limited to the borders of Iowa. He desired to obtain the permanent and artistic likeness in oil of Iowa men and women who contributed to the good name and fame of our State. In this purpose he invited the negroes of Iowa to place in the collections an adequate portrait of Frederick Douglass, and they, with the aid of their friends and of the Legislature provided such a canvas from the brush of Freeman Thorpe. Thus there is acquired as representative of a

large body of Iowa citizens and with their assistance, the portrait of their greatest citizen, though not of Iowa.

Recognizing the office of the Christian religion in the building of our State, Mr. Aldrich solicited with an especial ardor the portraits of the Christian ministry. Thus were installed the portraits of Bishops Lee and Perry of the Episcopal church; Bishops M. C. and Thomas Lenihan of the Catholic clergy, Rev. Dr. Salter of the Congregational church, and no less was the ardor with which he presented the matter as to others of the great denominational leaders in and out of the State. Out of this policy came requests for portraits of Luther, Wesley and other leaders, and a fine oil portrait by George D. Chiswick, of Des Moines, of Alexander Campbell, presented by the Iowa membership of the church of which Mr. Campbell was a founder.

The portrait is a copy of one painted by James Bogle in 1858. It was formally presented to the State by the congregations in their annual convention in Des Moines, June 20th. The presentation address was by D. R. Dungan of Drake University, a student under Campbell at Bethany, West Virginia. Hon. B. F. Carroll, Auditor of State, accepted the portrait on behalf of the State. The Douglass portrait was installed without special ceremony.

THE "SCATTERATION POLICY."

(Written by Charles Aldrich.)

When the seat of Government of this State was removed from Iowa City to Des Moines by the act of the Sixth General Assembly, the same law provided that the State University should remain in the old Capitol at that place. It has remained there from that day to this, though occasionally some impracticable individual has suggested that it had better be removed to Ames or Des Moines, but no sensible person has ever seriously contemplated any such contingency. The capital came to Des Moines and the University has enjoyed an excellent growth from that day to this, in which course it will no doubt continue in all the years to come.

MONUMENT, COMMEMORATIVE OF OLD FORT DES MOINES

Dedicated and presented to the City of Des Moines by Abigail Adams Chapter, D. A. R., June 14, 1908.

This action, however, established a precedent of scattering the various institutions of the State which has prevailed from that time to the present. This course has from time to time caused serious apprehension in the minds of many good people. The fear has been entertained widely and possibly with a large sense of justice, that this "scatteration policy" would result disastrously to the State. There seemed in some minds to be danger that the friends of the various institutions would combine for the purpose of securing large appropriations and thereby that our taxes would be greatly and unjustly increased. But some time before these fears came to any such unjust culmination, our legislature, thanks to the wise suggestions of Hon. John D. Hunter, late of Webster City, passed a law that a Board of Control should be set in authority over the institutions, excepting those devoted to education, which existed upon the taxation of the people. Since that wise law, which was put into force by three such eminent business men as Ex-Governor William Larrabee, Ex-Chief Justice L. G. Kinne of our Supreme Court, and Hon. John Cownie, who had long held a high place among the foremost farmers of Iowa, these fears have measurably, if not wholly died out. There is no longer any fear that a combination of the institutions can unduly control our tax levies. And, as a further measure of protection, the legislature has a veto upon the recommendations of the Board of Control. We have here a system of checks and balances which seems wisely adapted to the situation in our State. The "scatteration policy" will no doubt go on.

TWO COMMEMORATIVE ACTS.

The fact that one of the frontier military outposts was established and for a time maintained within the present limits of the city of Des Moines has received some attention in print. But it remained for Abigail Adams Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of Des Moines, adequately to commemorate the event by erecting a visible mark. On June 14th this patriotic body dedicated and presented to the city of Des Moines a monument of massive carved granite. On

the face of the stone is a bronze tablet twenty by thirty inches in size by the Gorham Company. This bears the following inscription in raised letters:

SITE OF OLD FORT DES MOINES
ESTABLISHED 1843
EVACUATED 1846
ERECTED BY
ABIGAIL ADAMS CHAPTER OF THE DAUGHTERS OF
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
ASSISTED BY
PARK COMMISSIONERS AND EARLY SETTLERS OF DES MOINES
DEDICATED JUNE 14, 1908

The monument, enclosed by a substantial iron fence, is in a small plot of ground upon the identical site of the Old Fort Des Moines. The order for the establishment of the fort was issued from Jefferson Barracks, Saint Louis, February 20, 1843, and directed Captain Allen to establish a post "at as early a period as the weather will permit, on the River Des Moines, at or near the junction of the Raccoon, for the protection of the Sac and Fox Indians, and the interests of the Government on that frontier." Captain Allen reported that he went into camp for the first time on May 20, 1843. He received an order bearing date February 23, 1846, for the abandonment of the fort, and the last of the troops departed under command of Lieutenant Grier for Fort Leavenworth March 10, 1846 (*Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. 4, 161 *et seq.*).

On July 1st, the Des Moines Commercial Club commended the act of a negro resident of the city in presenting him a gold medal appropriately inscribed:

TO GRANT FERGUSON
FROM
THE DES MOINES COMMERCIAL CLUB, JULY 1, 1908.
FOR
HEROIC RESCUE OF MAN FROM DROWNING
JUNE 13, 1908.

CRUDE LEGISLATION.

(Written by Charles Aldrich, September 1907.)

Much legislation has resulted from the erection of the Historical Building. A study of this legislation at this time discloses many crudities. Some of it is obsolete and some unnecessary. Much is awkward and clumsy. While the Curator of the Historical Department may justly be held responsible in a general way for this legislation, much of it was never approved by him but its passage could not be prevented. One may draft a bill in the form that suits his purpose or the general purposes sought, but when it passes into committees and then is subjected to thorough consideration in the legislature its form in the end cannot be predicted. The Curator has always felt it more important that the work upon the building be kept in motion than that his mere personal preference be followed or his opinions accepted. In one instance a bill for the promotion of the building was amended in a way he considered absurd and irrelevant. He appealed to the chairman of the committee to recommend the bill in the hope of a proper change in its construction. The chairman, who was friendly to the measure, objected that the proposition to that effect would result in a contest wherein the bill might be lost. His counsel that no change should be attempted, and later sessions relied upon for the correction of any injustice, was adopted, and the bill passed in its imperfect state. The writer hopes that the legislation resulting in our beautiful and commodious Historical Building when studied in future may be considered in the light of the above statement and that he may be exonerated from a portion of the blunders of hasty and ill-considered legislation.

The erection of the Historical Building went ahead until its completion and that, after all, was the matter of chief importance. Men who placed obstacles in its way doubtless acted unwittingly. In fact one of them years afterward was frank enough to confess that he had sinned through ignorance—"he did not know better." The legislation to which reference is thus made should be superseded by a brief and simple statute that may be readily comprehended.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

Charles Alvord Bishop was born near Waukesha, Wisconsin, May 22, 1854; he died while in attendance at the meeting of the Iowa State Bar Association at Waterloo, July 9, 1908, and was buried at Woodland cemetery, Des Moines, Iowa, July 14. His parents were Mathew Patrick and Roxanna (Alvord) Bishop. He gained his education in the public schools of Palmyra and La Grange, Wisconsin, and studied law in the office of Mr. Weed at Palmyra, being admitted to the bar at Waupeca, Wisconsin, in 1875. He came to Iowa in 1875, locating at La Porte, in Black Hawk county, entering into the law practice and becoming editor of the *Review* of that place. He was elected to the legislature from Black Hawk county in 1881, serving in the House through the Nineteenth General Assembly. He served on the committees on Judiciary, Insurance, Libraries, Institute for the Education of the Blind and Asylum for Feeble-minded Children. He continued both as lawyer and editor for eight years, when he went to Minneapolis, Minnesota, to devote his attention exclusively to the law. His associate was Judge Bagg of the Dubuque bar, who died shortly after the new venture began. Judge Bishop soon returned to Cherokee, Iowa, to publish the *Times* of that city, which, however, he disposed of in a few months, removing permanently to Des Moines. His career as a lawyer may be dated from his arrival at Des Moines in 1885. He entered the firm of Baker & Kavanaugh, which consisted of Hon. A. J. Baker, now of Centerville, Iowa, then Attorney General of Iowa, and Marcus Kavanaugh, now judge of the Cook county superior court of Chicago. Judge Kavanaugh retired when elected to the Polk county district bench and Judge Bishop joined the firm, which became Baker, Bishop & Haskins by the admission to the firm of Alvin A. Haskins, now deceased. Attorney General Baker's administration included among its tasks that of advising Governor Larrabee in carrying into effect the railroad legislation for which the Larrabee administrations are remembered. Judge Bishop, as assistant counsel, is to be given much of the credit to which the Attorney General's office is entitled. In the disposition of the Chester Tourney case Governor Larrabee relied solely upon Judge Bishop as counsel and in the trial work that ended with credit to both the client and attorney. In 1889 Judge Bishop was appointed by Governor Larrabee Judge of the Polk county district court, a vacancy existing by reason of the elevation of Judge Josiah Given to the supreme bench. He was defeated of election the next year. He was again appointed to the district bench in 1897 by Governor Drake to a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of W. A. Spurrier. The next year he was elected and served to March 3, 1902, when he resigned and entered the practice at Des Moines in the firm of Bishop, Dowell & Parish. Governor Cummins appointed him to the vacancy on the supreme bench made by the resignation of Judge C. M. Waterman in June, 1902. He was nominated and elected to fill out the term, then nominated and elected to serve for the current term ending January 1, 1911. Judge Bishop was one of the most gentle and affable of men. He was active and popular in fraternal societies and social clubs. He was a distinguished public speaker, in particular on memorial occasions, when some of his addresses have been almost classic in character. His record as a judge is most excellent. To the law he was devoted, caring but little for financial undertak-

CHARLES ALVORD BISHOP.

Justice of the Iowa Supreme Court and Member of the Board of Trustees of the Historical Department of Iowa.

ings or success along those lines. He was one of the largest hearted, most companionable of men, charitable toward all, censuring the wrong rather than the individual, tempering justice with mercy during his judicial career. Hence a model husband and father, not only loved by his family, his friends and his associates, but by all who really knew him. His modesty was proverbial. He might have been a member of the supreme court during Governor Larrabee's administration, but having some misgivings as to his own ability, he advocated the appointment of another and with his own hands wrote and delivered the commission that he himself might have retained.

L. S.

STEPHEN N. FELLOWS was born May 30, 1830, in North Sandwich, New Hampshire; he died in Iowa City, Iowa, June 2, 1908. He attended Rock River Seminary at the age of eighteen for a short time, later taking the course and graduating in 1854 with the degree of A. B. from Asbury University, now De Pauw, Greencastle, Indiana. He at once came to Iowa and began work as professor of mathematics and natural science at Cornell College, Mount Vernon. In 1856 he joined the Upper Iowa Conference of the Methodist church, entering the ministry in 1860, when he ended his connection with Cornell College. He was elected to the principalship of the Normal Department of the Iowa State University in 1867, retaining his active connection with the institution for twenty years. He was president of the State Teachers' Association from 1869 to 1872. He served once as president of the Iowa State Temperance Alliance. He was the Iowa delegate to the Ecumenical Conference of the Methodist church at Washington in 1893 and a member of the Advisory Council of Religions at Chicago in 1893. He received the D. D. degree from Cornell College in 1891. He was a leading factor in the organization of the Indian Rights Association of Iowa. He was an effective preacher and successful pastor, one of the strongest and most telling advocates of temperance of his time, a force in the educational enterprise of his day and a writer of distinction. His most valuable book is a history of the Upper Iowa Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church.

"AUNT BECKY YOUNG"—Sarah A. Graham was born in Ithaca, New York, August 9, 1830; she died in Des Moines, Iowa, April 6, 1908. She was first married on August 22, 1849, to Abel O. Palmer, who died before her enlistment, in 1862, as an army nurse. In June of the latter year she served in hospitals in Baltimore, Bladensburg and Beltville, of which last she was placed in charge. She established and had charge of a hospital at Falls Church and was active and efficient in the service with the union army until the fall of Richmond. Besides the love of thousands of soldiers whom she aided, she received commendations from officials, including General Grant and President Lincoln. She was married to Mr. D. C. Young April 10, 1867, and the following year they removed to Des Moines, where Mr. Young survives. In the organization of the Iowa Sanitary Commission in 1898 Mrs. Young was a leading factor, serving as president and also as chairman of the purchasing and forwarding committees. Brief as were hostilities with Spain, this organization was thoroughly perfected and did measureless good.

D. R. HINDMAN was born in Otsego county, New York, May 10, 1834; he died in Boone, Iowa, April 17, 1908. His early education was received at Whitestown Seminary and his legal training at the Clinton Law School. He went to Portage City, Wisconsin, in 1860 to commence the practice and soon enlisted in the Nineteenth Wisconsin Infantry, rising from the ranks to be captain of a company. In 1866 he removed to Boone county, Iowa, actively and successfully engaging in the legal profession until his appointment to fill a vacancy on the bench of the Eleventh Judicial District in 1888. He served with distinction for eleven years and returned to the practice in which he held a prominent place up to within a few months of his death.

THOMAS E. HAINES was born in Carroll county, Ohio, January 21, 1831; he died at Altoona, Polk county, Iowa, May 9, 1908. Mr. Haines left Ohio in 1863 and in company with a friend shipped twelve hundred sheep to Chicago and drove them to Mahaska county, Iowa. The sheep industry was followed for four years, when Mr. Haines entered the grain business at Altoona, continuing this until 1906, when he closed up business affairs and retired. He served in the Iowa House of Representatives of the Nineteenth General Assembly, being on committees on Public Buildings, Roads and Highways, Claims and Reform Schools. He was very successful in business, a member of the Masonic order and of the Christian church.

J. SCOTT RICHMAN was born at Somerset, Perry county, Ohio, March 11, 1820; he died at his home in Muscatine, Iowa, May 17, 1908. He removed to Knoxville, Illinois, and studied law about 1837 and to Rochester, Cedar county, Iowa, in 1839, where he was admitted to the bar. In 1840 he removed to Muscatine, where he began and thereafter remained in the active practice of the law throughout his long career except for nine years ending in 1872, when he served on the District bench. Judge Richman was a member of the Iowa Constitutional Convention of 1846 and was the last survivor of that noteworthy body of men. He served as chief clerk of the Iowa House of Representatives in 1848, and as a member of the extra session of the Fifth General Assembly in 1856, filling a vacancy caused by the death of Reason Pritchard. He maintained a reputation for high character, strong attainments and success at the bar for the longest period of any person in Iowa annals. He was a Whig, but became and remained a republican in politics. He was an early member of the second lodge of Masons instituted in Iowa and received many honors in the order.

MRS. MARCIA M. (Sutherland) MERRITT was born March 27, 1827, in Chautauqua county, New York; she died in Des Moines, Iowa, June 5, 1908. She was married to Col. William H. Merritt on January 8, 1846, removing at once with her husband to Iowa. Colonel Merritt founded the *Dubuque Herald* and the *Des Moines Statesman*, which later became the *Leader;* he was Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Iowa Infantry and once mayor and once postmaster of Des Moines. He died in Des Moines in 1891.

C. C. Morse